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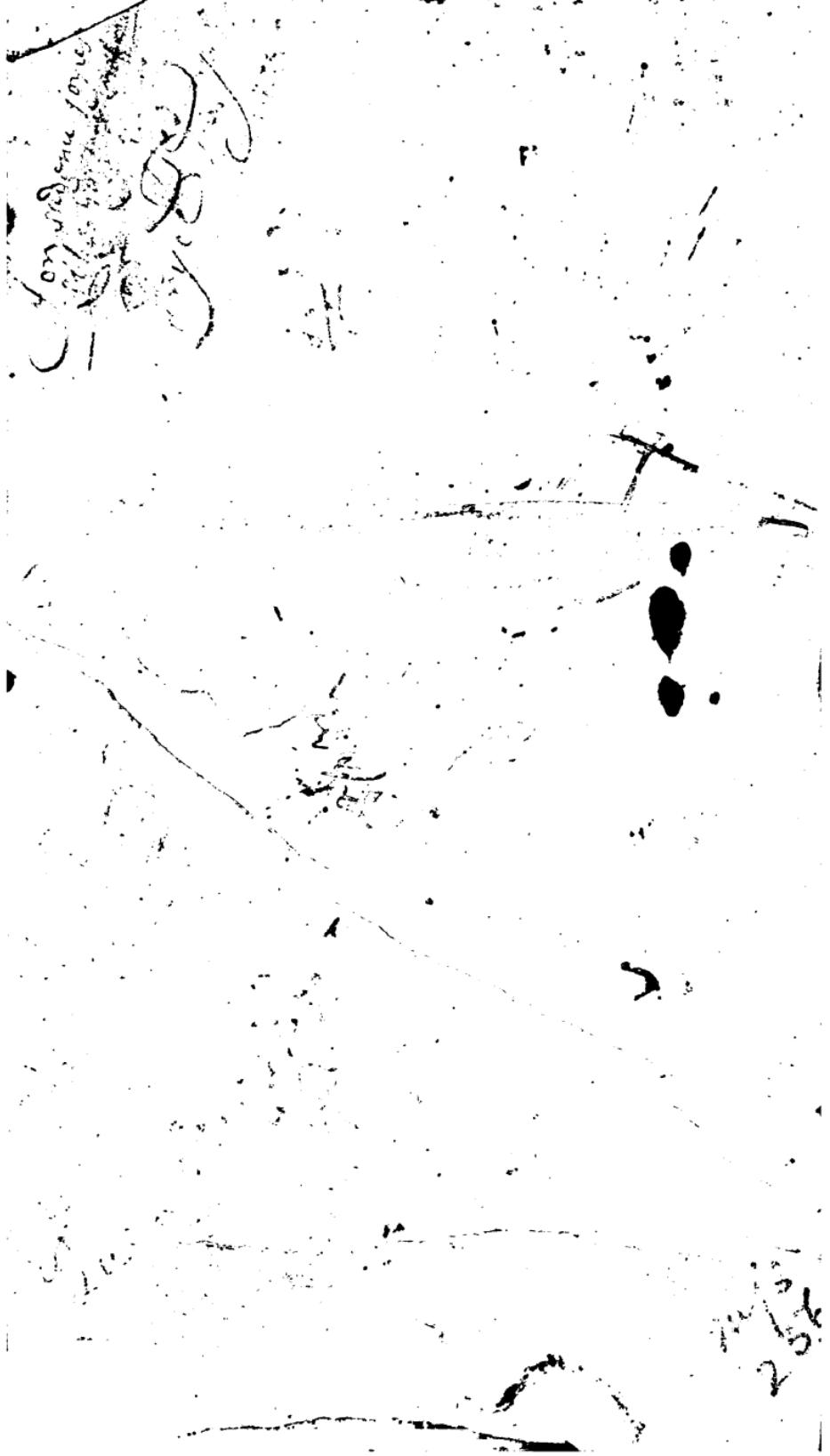
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THE
CHARACTER
OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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ELIZABETH & MARY
Queens of England.

L. Sturt sculp:

THE
CHARACTER
OF
Queen Elizabeth.

O R,

A Full and Clear Account
of Her Policies, and the Methods of
Her Government both in CHURCH
and STATE.

Her VIRTUES and DEFECTS.

Together with

of her

The CHARACTERS of Her Principal
Ministers of State. And the greatest part
of the Affairs and Events that Happened in
Her Times.

Collected and Faithfully Represented,
By EDMUND BOHUN, Esquire.

Semper eadem.

London: Printed for Ric. Chiswell,
at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's
Church-Yard. M DC XC III.



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TO THE
KING and QUEEN.

May it please Your Majesties,



Here present you
with the Noble
Character and
lively Represen-
tation of the
Greatest Princess that ever
sway'd this or any other Scep-
ter. A Princess, whose Na-
A 3 tural

6-11-40 mab

The Epistle Dedicatory.

tural Endowments, and Ac-
quired Abilities, made her the
Envoy, or the Example, of all
the Crowned Heads about her ;
whose Fame filled the World
whilst she lived, and the Hi-
stories of all Countries since
she died. In Persia they had
heard of the Maiden Queen,
before they knew the Name of
England. And the Sophi
asked our first Merchant that
went thither, if his Country
was not governed by a Maid ;
and upon his Reply It was so,
enquired no further. Her Re-
ligion and her Morals, her Pub-
lick and her Private Conversa-
tion with her Courtiers, her
Bed-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Bed-chamber Women, ber
Maids of Honour, ber Friends
and Relations, are all accurate-
ly described in this small Piece,
and must needs yield great plea-
sure to Your MAJESTIES to
read or hear them at conve-
nient times.

The Great Things she did,
and the Ways, Means and In-
struments she employed under
ber to bring them into Act,
are very divertising and in-
structive: Nor will it be any
diminution of the Glory of Your
Reigns, that in some things you
followed the Example of this
Wise and Illustrious Queen.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

I know Your Royal Cares
are great, and therefore I shall
not presume to rob you of any
more of Your precious Minutes
than is requisite to beg Your
favourable Acceptance of this
bounden Duty of

Edm^d Bobun Your Majesties most Loyal

1691

Servant and Subject

Edmund Bobun.

THE
PREFACE.

I Am bound in the first place to acquaint my Reader, That the Learned Johnston, a Skilled Physician, is the Principal Author I have followed in this Piece; for I would not translate him: To what I found there, I have added what I could light upon that was pertinent to my purpose in the Histories of those Times: So that I am perswaded, it cost me as much pains and time, as it cost him at first to write it. I took the liberty also to use my own Language, and Thoughts, as well as Judgment,

The P R E F A C E

ment, in the whole; adding and diminishing, as I thought fit, though never without Reason, or good Authority.

In such a Work as this, things ought to be delivered without any order of time, things of the same nature being laid together; So that this is not intended so much for a regular Story of those Times, as a Collection of Examples, that others may thereby be instructed what to chuse or avoid, what to commend or blame, what had a good, or an ill event.

Truth is as well the soul of a good *Character*, as of an *History*; to commend without cause or above measure, is the part of a *PANEGYRICK*; but it rendereth a *Character*, or an *History*, suspected and odious. I love the Name and Memory of this Gene-

rous

The P R E F A C E.

the Queen as much as any man living; but it could not bribe me to represent her otherwise than she was: The mixing the Faults of great Persons with their Virtues, abates the Envy of Mankind, and purchaseth a kind and ready Acceptance of the whole. A Lying Satyr is full as odious as a Flattering Panegyrick: If I were worthy to have my Story written, or my Picture drawyn, I should wish they might be equally true, and represent both my Life, and my Face, just such as they were. It is not impossible some may be offended with the Truth of this Little Piece, but they must know, I have no other share in it, than the collecting things that lay dispersed before, and the representing them as I found them (I hope I have nowhere Censured

or

The P R E F A C E.

or Cominended any thing above
the truth; but if I have upon admis-
sion I shall endeavour to amend
it. As the Persons mentioned
in it were all dead before I was
born, so I cannot be suspected to
be guilty of Love or Hatred, but
what was the result of their Vir-
tues, or their Vices: If I would
not spare the Queen, there was
no reason I should spare any of
her Courtiers; and when any of
our Nobility find any of their An-
cestors did ill things, and they are
represented in Story; let them
remember, the Princes of those
times had their Faults too, and
they are as freely written. Let
them think also, Thus it will be
with us; Infamy or Oblivion
will cover our memories when we
are dead, if we do not live well.
It is only Virtue that can render
Names illustrious in the Annals

The P R E F A C E.

of time, though great Estates and swelling Titles may make a man seem great on this side the Grave ; And Posterity will be no more able to drown the Vices of this present Age, than they are to prevent the knowledge of those that are past. As a bad Face quarrels a true Looking-Glass, so a bad Liver hates a true Historian, and both equally without just cause.

There has nothing more Eclipsed the Glory of Queen Elizabeth, than the want of a good History of her Reign in English. Cambden is good in the Original, but too short; but the Version of that Author is intolerably bad; would any good Pen do that by her Annals, which I have done here by her Character, it would be a grateful Tribute paid to Her Sacred Memory. Would our Great Men live in the Memory of the World? why let

THE R E F F E C T.

for them promote the History of their Countrey, and that will make their Names famous to posterity. *Macenas* is oftener remembred for his bounties to Learning, than for all his other Expences and Gallantry, of which perhaps it was not the hundredth part.

No Nation in Europe hath exceeded the English in Martial Bravery; but for want of good History, much of the Honour of our Ancestors is lost both at home and abroad. I would be contented to die when I had finished but one good Piece of our Story in such a manner as it should be worth the reading. I would serve my Countrey in any honest and brave thing; but History is my beloved Study; with it I would (if I had it in my power) grow old and die.

It

The P R E F A C E.

It was the comfort of a Prince in all his Sufferings, that his Name would one day, like the Sun, break through the Clouds of Reproach that the Iniquity of the Times had thrown about him; and he should shine the more gloriously in History for the things he had suffered in his Life. If he in the Lowest Abyss of Misery, in the melancholly Recesses of a Confinement, could thus comfort his drooping Spirits with the prospect of that Honour would be paid him in his Grave, when his Name should be imbalm'd in the grateful memory of his Subjects; It is a wonder there is no more care taken by the Living to render this grateful Acknowledgment to their Ancestors for all that they have left them.

But if we are unmindful of the Dead, if their cold Bones can merit

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see no corner in our Hearts or thoughts; why are we so regardless of the Living? a Prince can scarce deserve better of his Subjects, instruct, direct, reform, or amend them more effectually by any other method, than by Good Histories. The Precepts that are so delivered, slide insensibly and pleasantly into the minds of the Reader, and make lasting Impressions on his Memory.

Nor is this Benefit confined to the Subject, and meaner Persons; even Princes themselves do borrow from History those Counsels and Assurances they shall hardly gain from Courtiers and Ministers; sometimes they will not, sometimes they dare not. Admonish their Master, whilst a good History sheweth them by others, what will be the effect of ill-concerted Designs

The P R E F A C E.

signs and Counsels, and at the same time is an Awe upon them, suggesting this Thought frequently to them, *How will this look in History?* Thus Augustus, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry the Fourth of France, became Famous to Posterity, by observing carefully in History, what Fate had attended the Princes that preceded them; or better still, to Posterity too are to be taken care of if the present Age is not such as a Good or a Wise Man would wish it; let us try if we can make the next Generation better, by shewing the Chain of Calamities have followed at the heels of the Vices of the last and of this Age. At her Death the Thrift, the Probity, the Piety, and the Hospitality of the English Nation was much abated: The Luxury that attended the

The P R E F A C E.

Peaceable Reign of James the First, and the Beginning of Charles the First, brought on a War that threatened out Ruin: What has hapned since the Restitution, to the time in which Their Majesties began Their Reign, is now fresh in Memory, but will be lost, if not written. And I am persuaded nothing can possibly be invented to make us wiser than we now are, sooner or more easily, than a good History of this Period of Time; but then our Princes and Great Men must encourage it, and skreen the Writer, or it will never be done: The Expence is too great for a Private Man, and the Materials are most of them locked up from the view of all those who have not the Royal Authority consenting to their Inspection, and the Royal Purse to support

The P R E F A C E.
port the Charge of Transcribing
them.

Methinks every Prince that resolveth to do things worthy to be written, should take care to have one good Historian about him, to preserve the Memory of his Actions. Those that live ill, will find what they fear above all things, a man to paint out those things to the Life, which they would gladly have concealed. Story will go on with or without their care; but to their Damage, if not discreetly encouraged.

But why do I write thus in all the Misfortunes that have so lately befallen me! My Character has been written with the Poison of Asps, instead of Ink; so that one single *Word* (in another man's Work, otherwise interpreted than either he or I meant it, as is plain by the words that follow and ex-

The P R E F A C E.

plain it) has been enough to sink me, after my Reputation had been sufficiently pierced by the Arrows of Envy and Detraction. But all that I shall say in my own Defence, is, That I hate what I am supposed to be guilty of, as much as any man in the Nation; and never suffered, said, or thought the thing in all my Life.

T H E

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November 10. 1692.

THE

THE
CHARACTER
OF
Queen ELIZABETH.



LIZABETH, Queen. The Birth of England, was born and Paren-
at Greenwich the 7th of ^{tage of} Queen Eli-
September 1533. Her ^{beth.}
Father was Henry the VIIIth, Her Mother
was the Lady Anna
Boleyn the Daughter of Sir Thomas Bo-
leyn, a Knight of great Estate and
Esteem. After She came to wear the
Royal Crown of England, She had a
particular Affection for Greenwich, that
Pleasant Seat upon the Thames, as for
the place of Her Nativity: and upon
that account, amongst many others,
She preferr'd Her Palace there before all
Her other Country Seats near London;
as in truth it enjoys one of the Noblest,
Prospects in the World, and an health-

B ful

The Character of

ful, and a pleasing Air. From Her very Cradle She was exposed to the Hazards and Hardships of an unkind Fortune. *Anna Bolyn* Her Mother, upon the Death of Queen *Catherine*, in the Year 1535. the 8th of January, was Arraigned for Treason; and in 1536. being Sentenced, was freed by Death from a bloody Marriage, the 19th of May. The Inveterate Malice of the Popish Clergy having ever since pursued this Match with their Reproaches as unlawful and void; because Queen *Catherine* his first Wife was then still living, and very much enraged at it, tho' to no purpose. Hereupon soon after a Parliament was summoned, which began the 8th of June; In which the Issue of both the King's former Marriages was declared Illegitimate, and for ever excluded from claiming the Inheritance of the Crown as the King's Lawful Heirs by Lineal Descent; and the Attainer of Queen *Ann*, and her Complices, was Confirmed. So that by Authority of Parliament She stood wholly incapacitated as to the wearing the Crown of England. Her only Support in the mean time under all these Injuries and Afflictions was the Goodness of God.

The

The King Her Father observing in Her Education.
Her a Noble Presence of Mind, a good
Memory, great Apprehension, an Ex-
cellent Nature, and good Dispositions
towards Piety and Vertue, caused
Her to be diligently educated and
brought up in Learning, and taught
whatever was suitable to Her Birth and
Age. Her *Tutress* was the Lady Cham-
pion, a Person of great Worth, who
formed this great Wit from Her Infan-
cy, and improved Her Native Modesty
with wise Counsels, and a Liberal and
Sage Advice. Thus Her Natural Parts
were in progress of time polished and
improved by the Knowledge of many of
the best and most useful Arts: That
when She came to Reign (which was
even then supposed) She might manage
Her Affairs with a steady hand, happily
and regularly Administer Justice, and
shew Mercy, cwe Her Anger, and go-
vern prudently all Her other Passions
and Affections. The King Her Father,
the day after Her Mother was beheaded,
married the Lady Jane Seymour; and
this New Queen, what from the sweet-
ness of Her Disposition, and out of
compliance with the King, who loved
Her very much, was as kind to Her as

if She had been Her Mother. There is still extant two Letters written by this Young Princess to Her, the one in *Italian*, and the other in *English*, in a fair Hand, the same She wrote all the rest of Her Life, when She was not full Four years of Age. The *English* Letter is printed in the First Part of Dr. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and bears date in *July 1537.*

Page 209.
Her Tutors
in the *Greek*
and *Latin*
Tongue.

This Ripe and Flourishing *Infancy* was a good *Omen*, that the next Stage of Her Life would be most Excellent; and accordingly, before She was 17 years of Age, She had made a very great progres in all the Liberal Sciences; so easily did She apprehend, and firmly retain whatever She was taught. The Learned Mr. Roger Asbcam (a man born and bred for that Age, which was to refine the *Greek* and *Latin* to a Politeness, and raise them to an Eloquence) was Her Tutor for the *Latin* Tongue; and by his Industry and Diligence he directed Her so well, that from *Cicero*, *Pliny* and *Livy*, She became the Mistress of an Even, Beautiful, pure, unmixed, and truly Princely Stile, which She could speak with Elegance and Facility. As She became thus Eloquent, and was well

well furnished with Knowledge by the means of this Tongue ; so upon all Occasions She was ready afterwards to express Her Love and Esteem for the *Latin* Tongue. She became so perfect in it, that She spoke it with all the Advantages of Eloquence ; so that some of Her Extemporany Orations were deservedly approved by both the Universities, and they too are consigned to Eternity, and left a lasting Impression on the minds of them that heard them, though few of them are now extant; but however, there is one preserved and published by Mr. Fuller in his History of Cambridge, Page 138. In this Tongue She did not make it Her business, whilst She was reading the best *Latin* Authors, to furnish Her Memory with Grammatical Observations, or a plenty of high sounding Words , or Elegant Phrases, which might help to exalt her Reputation for Learning, or adorn Her Stile : But She treasured up those Precepts very carefully, which were useful for the government of Her Life, or for the managing Her Private Affairs , or those of the State , well and wisely. To this end She read *Livy's History*, *Tacitus his Annals*, the *Acts of Tiberius*

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the Emperor, and all Seneca's Works. By all which She at last furnished Her Judgment with the best Remedies against all the Attacks of Fortune : With an equal Industry She read over all the best of the Greek Orators and Historians ; with the Assistance of Mr. Abecan She read *Isoerates, Aeschines and Demosthenes.* She was curious, not only to understand the Propriety of the Greek Idiom, and the Sense of the Author, but pried into the Antiquities that occur'd, the Causes they managed, the Decrees of the People, the Customs of the Grecians, and the Manners of that Famous City of *Athens*, till She throughly understood them. She caused Sir *John Fortescue*, a great Master in the Greek and Latin Tongue, to read to Her *Thucydides, Xenophon and Polybius*, and after them *Euripides, Aeschines and Sophocles* : And to reward him for this Service, She afterwards made him Master of her *Wardrobe, and Chancellor, and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer* ; And She would afterwards say, that *Fortescue for Integrity, and Walsingham for Subtlety, exceed'd Her Expectation* ; no wonder then that he was ever of Her Privy Council. She had afterwards a great Love for Sir

Henry

Henry Savil, a Gentleman of various and great Learning, who afterwards composed many noble Volumes, and arose to Honour purely by his Learning.

In Her reading She did not only aim to understand Her Author, and observe the softness of the Attick, and the sweetnes of the Greek Tongue, which may serve for Ostentation: But She made many Observations for the Tempering of Manners; The Sanctity of Justice, and the allaying Humane Passions, that nothing might be done by Her Angrily, Proudly, Injuriously, and beyond the Rules of Civility. There was not one remarkable Story or Expression in all the Works of Thucidides and Xenophon, pertaining to the Governmente of Life or Manners, or to the ordering Publick Affairs, but She had it by heart. She was as great an Admirer of Philosophy, as of Eloquence; by which She attained the Knowledg of many excellent Things; and that civil Prudence or Policy which is so absolutely necessary for all Princes. And besides all that civil Prudence and the Knowledge of Governing, by which the Publick Utility is acquired and improved, She drew from the Ancient and

The Character of

most Noble Philosophers all those Precepts that they have set down for the gaining *Moral Prudence and Virtue*: For Her greatest Care was spent in the Cultivating these two beautiful Parts of Philosophy. I will omit the common Philosophers, of whose Learning and Doctrine She was a great Lover. The *Divine Plato*, that illustrious Light of *Greece*, was made more Noble by the Hands of this Heroick Princess. *Aristotle*, the Prince of the Philosophers, the acute Master of *Alexander the Great*, was read by Her: She was throughly acquainted with *Xenophon's Cyrus*; a Piece not writ with the Truth of an Historian; but to represent the lively Image of a Just and Moderate Prince, accomplished with all those Endowments which the Great *Socrates* had set forth, for the living well and happily.

G. Grindal
Her Tutor in
Theology.

Being thus prepared by *Philosophy*, she was, by the Learned Dr. Grindal, Professor of Divinity, initiated in *Theology*; which above all other Sciences, teacheth the Worship of God, Pure Religion, and the Knowledge of Heavenly Happiness; and by these disposes men to Justice, Modesty, Clemency, Magnanimity, and Humanity. She

clear-

clearfully and readily embraced a genuine and true *Theology*, free from fictitious Legends, and the Popish Superstitions, which she afterwards made more venerable, by an holy and pious Life, without any Ostentation. And being of a Great Wit, and a Strong Memory, She drew from the *Annals* of all Nations and People, the Actions of the Greatest Princes, and an innumerable number of their Fights, and most Illustrious Victories. She would frequently set before Her the Monuments of Her Predecessors, the Triumphs and incredible Victories obtained by the *English* at *Cressy*, *Poictiers*, *Agincourt*, or *Blagni*, and at *Verneuil*, against the *French*, with a vast effusion of their blood; and she would frequently say, These Victories were owing more to the Assurances of Heaven, than the Arms of her Ancestors.

Besides the *French*, *Italian*, and *English* Tongues, which She spake freely, She well understood most of the common Languages now spoken in *Europe*; but as to these Three I have mentioned, it was hard to say which she knew best. Of this there were many witnesses, when She answered the *Imperial Ambassador* in

French and Italian, and understood many other European Tongues.

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in Italian ; the French, in French ; and the Swedes in Latin, Sharply, Prudently, Pertinently, Elegantly, and Politely, without any time taken to consider of it. She gave *de Ronsard*, a French Poet, a Diamond of great Value, as a Testimony of Her approving his elegant and splendid Poems in that Tongue. She understood Musick very well, and could Sing, Dance, and Play on the Lute, with a composed Motion of Body, attended with a Countenance, Habit, and Gesture, which became a Queen. She was a great Lover of Consorts, when *Voices* were mixed with Instruments of Musick ; and at such times She would be strangely Facetious and Pleasant. She spent Her times of Leisure and Diversion, with the greatest Pleasure that was possible to Her Self, and those about Her. Yet after all, Her Virtues procured Her more Honour and Esteem in all Nations, than all these Ornaments of Industry, Learning, and Ingenuity, though they appeared in Her to an higher and more illustrious degree, than ever was found in any other Lady ; and were attended also with the greatest Sagacity and Judgment : For there was not any Person

Person in Her Times, that exceeded
Her in *Chastity, Piety, Justice, and Mag-*
nanimity.

Now I have shortly shown the Be-
ginnings and Progress of Her Virtues,
and the Means and Degrees by which
She attained to them : It will be plea-
sant to shew how she brought them into
Act under the Reign of Her Brother,
EDWARD the VIth, (who by the
Consent of the Three Estates in Parlia-
ment, abolished the *Popish Religion*, and
introduced the Reformed). She having
then attained to great degrees of Piety,
Eloquence, and Learning, went on in
the commendable Improvement of all
those Perfections She had received from
the Bounty of *Nature or Fortune*. She
rendred Her *Royal Extraction* more illu-
strious, by the Assistances She took eve-
ry day from Books ; and when She had
spent the time She had assigned to *Polite*
Learning, She betook Her self every day
to the more severe Studies of *Religion*,
with a vigorous and lively Affection.
She read over *Melancthon's Common-Pla-*
ces ; and gained very much by an exact
and accurate Perusal of the *Sacred Scri-*
ptures : There were innumerable Sen-
tences in the *New Testament*, and the
Oracles

Her Progress
and Improve-
ment under
the Reign of
Edward VI.

Oracles of the Prophets, which She had treasured up in Her Memory, and which She would afterwards upon occasion mention; and She attended the Offices of Religion and Piety, with great Devotion and Care. She often addressed Her devoutest Prayers to God, and implored his Assistance, for the obtaining a Chaste Heart, a Pure and Unspotted Life, and a Steady and Constant Soul. The Wills of the Subjects of *England* were then divided, and their Opinions distracted in the matters of Religion; and She then shewed to mankind the true and *salutary Doctrine*, not so much by Words, as by a holy Life, and good Actions. She attentively heard the Sermons of the Clergy, not only to please Her self with their Oratory, but admitted them into the most intimate Recesses of Her heart, with an incredible satisfaction; and She joined devoutly and constantly in the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church.

The Untimely Death of
Her Beloved Brother
Edward VI.

The Death of *Edward* the VIth, Her beloved Brother, in his Childhood, in the very Blossom of a promising Spring, tho he was snatched away from Her by an immature Fate, to the damage of his Countrey; yet it gave no stop or affright to

to Her Piety, but She consolated Her self with the Immortal Glory he had acquired in the short time he lived.

To him succeeded MARY Her Sister, who always adhered stiffly to the old way of Worship, and the Ceremonies and Superstitions of the *Church of Rome*, even when they were abolished by Acts of Parliament; and having now got the Crown, made it Her greatest Design not only to restore the Pomp and Splendor of it as before, but also to compel all her Subjects to submit to it by Force, Threats, Banishment, and most Barbarous Deaths and Cruelties. To this purpose also she called over Cardinal Reginald Pool, a Person of rare Learning, and of a very Innocent Life and Conversation; and which is rarely to be found in the men of that Persuasion, of a great *Probity, Candor, and Sweetness of Temper*. The Popish Religion being thus restored, there were New Bishops, and New Preachers, sought for, to recommend it to the Nation; and the Honest, Innocent, Religious, Good men, who had set the Crown upon Her Head, upon Her Promise to Protect the Religion which She found Established, were oppressed by the

The Character of

the Fury of their Enemies, which spread it self over the whole Kingdom of *England*, and there was no place free from their Religious Butchery. The Princess *ELIZABETH*, in these doleful times seeing her self deprived of the Protection of a Kind Brother, deserted by Her Friends, and betrayed by Her Enemies, had not the least hope of enjoying the Free Exercise of the True Religion. Nor was this Calamity thought enough ; but Her Popish Enemies persecuted Her, under the pretence She had Conspired with Sir *Thomas Wyatt* to Destroy Her Sister ; tho at his death he declared to all the world, She had no hand in his Insurrection ; but however, Her Sister was glad of this pretence to use Her ill ; and being spurr'd on by Her Popish Bishops, who were highly enraged against Her, as the Head of the Reformed Religion, She was sent close Prisoner to the Castle of *WOODSTOCK*, in the year 1554. Thus She saw Her self deprived at once of all her Friends, and Her Liberty too : Her Servants and Friends abroad were many of them Attainted, and others forced to seek their Safety in Foreign Countries : And the Protestants in great Numbers became

became a Sacrifice to the Rage of the *Popish Bishops*: So that no Orator is able truly and effectually to represent in words the Desolations and Calamities of those times. Many, however, of the most Learned of the *English Nation*, during this storm, betook themselves to *Germany*, as to their safest Harbour: The rest who could not make a timely Escape were committed to Prisons, tormented with various Arts of Cruelty, and at last burnt alive: The Publick places of our Cities were bathed with the Blood of Innocent and Holy men; and our streets were filled with the dreadful shrieks and groans of the miserable; men from their souls detesting the Cruelty of the Popish Clergy, and the infamous Inhumanity of these *Marian Times*. The Princess *Elizabeth* was a sorrowful Spectator of this Tragedy; but for all the fear she lived in, and the repeated Threats of Her Sister, She stood her ground, and would not be withdrawn from the Religion She had embraced, and in Her Conscience approved; but bore all with an undaunted and Heroick Courage. The Chearfulness of Her Temper soon overcame the Greatness of the Calamity, the Melancholy

The Princess
Elizabeth
 sorrowful
 Spectator of
 the Popish
 Cruelty.

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Melancholy of a Prison, and the Fear of Her Sister. The Bitterness of Her Misfortunes was much allayed also, by discovering to Her how tenderly the People loved her; so that the Joy of this, over balanced the Calamities of the Times, and the Frowns of Fortune. In the midst of such over-whelming Sorrows, Suspicions, and the Fears of an Ignominious Death, no mortal ever saw her dejected or dispirited. When the fears of Her Treacherous and Perfidious Enemies, and that of Violence encompassed Her, Good Reason encouraged Her; a Sound Mind, and a Quiet Conscience supported Her under Her Misfortunes, and Her Hope and Trust in the Goodness and Mercy of God, overcame all assaults of Despair.

She was hated
by the P. Bi-
shops for Her
Religion.

It is not my Purpose to make the Reigns of *Henry the VIII.* and *Queen Mary* odious; and therefore I will not spend my time in representing the Cruelties that were then put in Practice; the manifold Murthers extending to all Sexes and Ages; or the Miseries that followed those that fled hence into Foreign Countries. For tho the mischievous Example of the *Popish Clergy*, who by their Authority, Counsel, and the specious

specious pretences of Retrieving and Preserving the Ancient Piety and Worship, raised and augmented these Persecutions, and is for ever to be detested ; yet the Faults of Princes , like those of our Parents, are to be concealed as much as is possible ; and the Injuries they do us are patiently and silently to be suffered.

The Popish Clergy, and especially some of the Bishops, foreseeing what hazard their Religion was exposed to as long as the Princess *Elizabeth* lived, and was the next Heir to the Crown of England, because she had from her Infancy been bred up in the Protestant Religion, made it their Great Design to hasten her Death with an implacable Malice, that so they might at one blow cut off the Head of that Party which was here formed against their Church. She in the mean while, during all this calamitous time saw herself under Custody, her faithful Servants in Prison, and she had perpetually before her eyes the Images of a violent Death. The People of England saw her Danger, but could not so prudently conceal their Fears, but upon all occasions openly and with great Anxiety said, *The Royal*

Offspring was designed for Slaughter : Truth and Innocence were not secure ; and the Ruin and Undoing of the Nation would be the effects of her Death. Queen Mary, in the mean time was, distracted between the Shame of offending the whole Nation, which generally believed the Princess Elizabeth to be innocent ; and the Fear of exposing her Religion (which she loved above all things) to the Hazard of another Protestant Reign. She saw herself in danger of Conspiracies if her Sister lived, and that on the other hand she could not take away her Life without being guilty of a great Wickedness.

Her Life was saved by King ~~of~~ Philip, the King of Spain, the Husband of Queen Mary, upon wise Reasons of State, delivered the poor, distressed, and helpless Princess out of this horrid Danger, out of pure Aversion to the Kingdom of France, his most dreadful Rival. For he wisely considered, That Mary Queen of Scotland, and Grandchild to Henry VII, was married to Francis the Eldest Son of Henry II, King of France ; and that if the Princess Elizabeth were cut off, she would be the undoubted Heiress of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and would transfer
and

and unite these Three Northern Crowns to that of *France*, and make the House of *Valoise*, dreadful to that of *Austria*. This Thought put a stop to their Cruelty; God by it procuring her Safety, and with her, preserving the *English* Nation, to the universal Joy of all who wished well to her or their Countrey.

Queen *Mary* her Sister died the 17th. ^{The Death of Queen Mary.} of November, 1558, when she had Reigned Five Years, Four Months, and Eleven days, being then in the XLIII. Year of her Age, concluding an unhappy Reign, and an unfortunate Life. She at her Death by her last Will left the afflicted and disconsolate Lady the Princess *Elizabeth*, the Heir of the Crown of *England*, rather out of an unavoidable Necessity, than any thing of Choice. There was then a Parliament sitting, which began the 5th. of that month in which she died; and as the Government was then wholly in the hands of the Roman-Catholicks, none of the other Party daring to appear, or if they did, not daring to own their Opinions, the Death of Queen *Mary* was concealed for some hours, for what purpose is not known; but about Nine of the Clock, the Lord Chancellor went to the House

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of Lords, and first acquainted them with it. This gave a great terror to the Bishops, and those Counsellors who had been severe against the Princess Elizabeth; yet they all agreed to Proclaim her Queen; so they sent for the House of Commons, and the Chancellor told them also the Queen was dead, and that the Princess Elizabeth was the undisputed Heir to the Crown, of whose Right and Title none could make any Question; and therefore the Lords intended to Proclaim her Queen, and desired their Concurrence; which was joyfully entertained by them; and they all cried, God save Queen Elizabeth; long and happily may she reign. She being thus advanced to the Throne, not only by her own undoubted Right, and the Providence of God, but by the Consent and with the Approbation of all the Three Estates then Assembled in Parliament, (which, I think, never before happened to any of our Princes besides her); she was received by the whole Nation with incredible Transports of Joy and Affection, and the loudest Acclamations they could make; men highly valuing the Innocence of her former Life, and commiserating the hardships she had suffered in the former Reign,

Reign, to the hazard of her Life. When God had thus brought this Queen to the Throne of her Ancestors, of a sudden the course of things, and the current of affairs took a new bias; the heavy Tempests and Misfortunes that attended England were instantly blown over, and a serene and prosperous course of things succeeded in their place. Thus in a moment she was not only freed from the Miseries of an Imprisonment, but adorned with the highest degree of Honour and Power; and this Lady with a Masculine, or rather Heroick Soul, which was worthy to have governed the Empire of the World, for almost Forty-five years after, managed the Royal Scepter of England, and was the Arbitrator, prescribing the Conditions of Peace and War to all the Princes of Christendom, with a Greatness of Mind, and a Wisdom which became so high a Station. This Virtue, which was almost Divine, joined with so admirable a Prudence, render'd her worthy of the Applause and Honour of all mankind. Thus one may find and admire the great force and power of Time, and the wonderful Changes of Human Affairs; and how useful it is to arrive at Prosperity by the Wayes of

Adversity. Whilst she was in her private Station, she was perpetually under the fear and danger of Death; but by the Goodness of God she escaped all the Insults of Adverse Fortune; her Innocence procured her Safety, that made way for her Liberty, so her Sovereignty was acknowledged; and from her prudent Management of that Royal Station, she gained an Endless Glory, and an Immortal Name. Thus attaining the Possession of a Kingdom with Glory, and the Publick Safety, and the Good Will of her Subjects, she on all occasions shewed the Greatness and Brightness of her Wit and Soul; That she had well studied and digested the best Arts, and had had an excellent Education, and wise Instruction, the good Effects of which were now made known, By her wise promoting the Good and Safety of her People.

The Nation In the beginning of her Reign she divided into Factions. found the Nation at home filled with Divisions and Heart-burnings, by reason of the contrary methods used in the two preceding Reigns: Abroad she had never an Ally she could trust to; all was in a War, or an uncertain and unsteady Peace: The Spanish Government was

{ }) become

become odious here, and the *English* called their *Affected Gravity, Pride and Insolence*: The *French* had equally incensed us by the late Surprize of *Calais*. *Calais* newly lost. The Treasury was at the lowest Ebb; and our Bulwark, which our Ancestors had preserved Two hundred and ten years, was taken from us in one weeks time, in the beginning of *January*, in this year: The New Queen proposed to herself the common Safety and Welfare of her People, and pursued it with the utmost Care and Affection. She was then Twenty five years of Age, and something more, when the Royal Diadem of *England* descended to her; and she began the difficult work of raising the low and calamitous state of *England*, and redressing those Grievances which the opposite Interests and Desights of the former times had brought upon this Nation. She was not only ripe and fit for Government, but, she had by this time acquired a strange and unusual degree of Civil Prudence. She knew the Publick or Royal Laws of *England*, not only by reading them in Books, but also by the great Reflection she had made on our History, and on what had happened in her own times;

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and by her Conversation with great men, and the application she had ever made of her Mind to whatever was worth regarding. The 14th. of January after her Sister's Death, 1558, she was Crowned with the Ancient and Usual Ceremonies, when her People gave her fresh Instances of their Loyalty and Affection, by crowding in unusual Numbers to see and partake in the Joy of this Solemnity: And she (having observed that her Sister, by the sullenness of her Behaviour, had much disengaged the People), frequently looked on them with a cheerful and pleasing Countenance, and returned the Respects they paid her, with great sweetness. She took the Ancient and Usual Coronation-Oath, That she would govern her Kingdom according to the Ancient and Laudable Laws and Customs of England; which she observed more willingly than most of her Predecessors had before her; and this gained her both the Love and Reverence of Her People.

She at first
dissembled
her Religion.

At first she cherished in her Roman Catholick Subjects a belief she would embrace that Religion they professed. She changed nothing in the Publick Service, or the Administration of the Sacra-

ments,

ments, that she might not enrage her Papists, and give them a pretence for Separation before she had well Established herself. The Kingdom of *England* was then very unsettled, and had received great Damages both at home and abroad; the *French* had wrested from us the strong Town of *Bologna* in the Year 1546. before the death of *Henry the VIIIth*, and *Calais* in the beginning of this Year; The Sea was full of *Privateers*, and there was scarce any thing to be trusted to. In this Dis-order of Affairs, she wisely thought, That the only way to settle and preserve the Nation from Imminent Ruine, was to chuse wise and upright Men to manage the Publick Affairs: She declined the use of Rash and overbold Men, who have commonly brought mischief on the States that have trusted to them. Being weary of the *Papish Ceremonies*, and their Conversation, she retired for some time to one of her Country Hous-es, as it were, for Diversion and Pleasure, but in truth that she might with the greater Leisure and Secrecy consider of the Methods she should take for the removing the Dan-gers which threatened her Kingdom; for the

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the Preservation of its Peace, for the Abating the Power of the Popish Party, and the settling that Religion here, which she believed was most for the Glory of God, as being most agreeable to the Sacred Scriptures. The Men that she most relied on in this great and difficult Work, were *William Lord Parre of Kendal*, Marques of *Northampton*, whom she had restored to his Honours. *Francis Russel*, Earl of *Bedford*. *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and *Sir William Cecil*, Prime Secretary of State; all of them men of great Prudence and Courage, who had with much difficulty escaped the *Marian* Tempest. These were the Chief Managers of her Secret Councils, and acquainted with her most private Thoughts and Designs for the good and safety of her People, and were all of them Protestants: The Popish Nobility and great Men were either contented with a Vote in the Privy Council (in which many of them still sat) and others of them refusing however to be any otherwise concerned; or foreseeing the Change that was intended, had withdrawn themselves altogether,

Her Prime
Councillors.

gether, and deserted their former Stations.

Of these, she relied mostly on the Council of *Cecil* and *Bacon*, who were closely united each to other, and both equally in her Favour, and were besides men of great Judgment. They were also her Chief Ministers, and most trusted by her for their Integrity and Industry.

Having throughly consider'd the state of the Nation, she resolved at first to promote a Peace abroad; and that she might gain her point in this with the greater ease, she used some Dissimulation. *Philip* the II^d, King of *Spain*, had lost the possession of *England* by the death of *Queen Mary*, and to recover it, had begun a Treaty of Marriage with *Queen Elizabeth*, which she declined with much civility and modesty; so that he still insisted upon it for some time, and she was not willing wholly to undeceive him till she saw at end of the Treaty of *Cambrai*. *Francis* the Eldest Son of *Henry* the II^d, King of *France*, having married *Mary Stewart*, Queen of the *Scots*, and the next Heir after her of the Crown of *England*, the French were forming a Design against her,

Cecil and Bacon
her Prime
Ministers.

She dissem-
bled with the
King of Spain.

her, and made a kind of Claim of the Crown for the *Dauphiness*. The Queen feared the King of *Spain* the most of the two, as being a Prince of deep Designs, and formidable to all his Neighbours on the score of his vast Dominions; and was resolved, as time and opportunity should serve, to abate his Power, and cross his Designs: She was as much offended with the King of *France* for the ravishing *Calais* from us, and for assuming the Arms of *England* to hers and the Nation's Dishonour; yet she resolved to make a Peace with him as soon as she could. Thus this Heroick Lady, which had tried both Adverse and Prosperous Fortune, being by Nature endowed with a strange Sagacity and Prudence, which is very rarely to be found in that Sex; and which she had also much improved by the Afflictions she had suffered; by her wise Counsels soon brought this almost Shiptwrack'd Vessel to a safe Port, and governed it all her days with much ease and Peace; by which she gave the World a noble Specimen of her Virtue, Justice and Prudence. She discovered all the Inclinations, Forces, Leagues and Counsels of her Neighbouring States; She laid aside

aside all her Feminine Indignation, and would not suffer her most intimate Affections to have any place or consideration with her, when she was to consult the Peace, and secure the safety of her People. Of which this may serve for a clear Proof; From the beginning of her Reign she had established this as a Maxim, *That the King of Spain was the most formidable Enemy the English then had*; but then because that Nation was strong, rich, and powerful, she seemingly paid, for some time, a great respect to the King of Spain, that he and the French King might not join against her; and she also sent an Ambassador to renew the Amity between her and the House of Austria.

Yer considering that it was necessary She makes a
that she should in a short time have a Peace with
War with Spain, and that part of his France, and
Dominions lay near her, and that others resolves on a
were more remote, and very rich and War with
fruitful, so that they would well pay
her Subjects for the pains and danger of
attacking them; She upon the whole
concluded, That it was her Interest to
enter into a Treaty of Peace and Amity
with the King of France; and accord-
ingly she kindly received his Ambassa-
dors,

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The Treaty
of Cambray.

dors, who were sent hither to renew the Peace. She put out a Proclamation to forbid all her Subjects the offering any violence or wrong to the French that were then in England, that she might prevent their enraged the Foreign Nations against her or her Subjects. And in the Castle of Cambray she by her Ambassadors concluded a League with France, upon Condition, That the Town of Calais, and all that belonged to it, should after eight years be restored to the English; and if the same was not done, that the French King should pay to her, at the expiration of the said Term, 50000 Crowns, and give Hostages of the Children of Noble Families for the performance of the said Condition in the meantime; and the assurance of an Oath that they would punctually and truly keep the said Agreement. When this Peace came to be discovered by a Proclamation in London, and all the Seaport Towns, almost all the good men of England were inwardly offended at it; and they whispered their Discontents in all places. Yet I cannot but think the Queen in this League (how much soever it was spoken against), did rather consult her own Honour and Re-

Reputation, and the safety and welfare
of her People, than trust to the Faith
of the King of France, as to the resti-
tution of Calais. The Hostages indeed
fled away, and the French broke their
Faith (as it was to be thought they
would) when they were to restore Ca-
lais; but then the Advantages which
England then gained by that seasonable
Peace, abundantly overbalanced the
Damages sustained by the disappoin-
ment. When the time was expired for
the restitution of Calais, the English
Ambassadors in the Court of France
endeavoured to make that Nation ap-
pear odious and detestable to all Man-
kind, because they had fraudulently de-
parted from the Terms of the League
so solemnly made at Cambray, and af-
terwards sworn to by that King: But
Monsieur de l'Hospital, Sieur de Vitry,
Chancellor of France, a learned and
a Cunning Lawyer, replied, That Ca-
lais was lost by a War, and regained by
another; That the Promise of restoring
it was a Necessity imposed upon the French
by the Iniquity of the Times, which had
enforced them to yield so far to the En-
glish for the safety of their State; but
that in truth the English had as much
The French
Plea against
the Restitutio-
n of Calais.

right to Paris, as they had to Calais; and might with as good justice demand the first, as the last. Yet after all, this Wise man never endeavoured to clear his Nation from the Guilt and Infamy of Fraud and Perjury, which was a Task above his strength. In all Revolutions and Changes, the Queen always in the first place took care to secure the True Worship of God, and the safety of all her Subjects. When therefore she had thus secured her Peace abroad, or at least had gained a Cessation of War till she might take breath, and recover her strength, and was now freed thereby from all fear of Foreign or Domestic Dangers, she made it her next great business to reform the Religion of England. She foresaw, that if she suffered Popery to continue, she could never establish her own Government. Therefore she resolved with pious and holy care to establish the Reformation that had been begun by her Father, and carried on by her Brother; and to suppress and eradicate by degrees, by the Authority of her Parliaments, without force or violence, the Popish Superstition, which she esteemed a Corrupt and Immoderate Religion, and equally inju-

She resolved
to reform the
Religion.

injurious to Princes and their Subjects.

In these times the contending *Religions* were so near an Equality, and so balanced each against other, that the Authority of the Prince was able to turn the scale. *Henry the VIIIth.* was able to settle a Mongrel sort of *Papery*: *Edward the VIth.* advanced this to a thorough *Reformation*: *Queen Mary*, without much difficulty, re-setled the old *Mass* of unrefined *Papery*: And now when it was become ten times more hated than before, on the account of the *Perfidy* and *Bloodshed* that had been employed to establish it, *Queen Elizabeth* comes upon the stage, resolved to use all her Skill and Authority for the intire *Extirpation* of it; and the People readily and willingly complied with her in it, or rather in truth led her the way, and were a little too hot on the work. She presently summoned a Parliament, which was opened the 25th of January, Her first Par- after her Accession to the Crown; the liament. great Design of which was, To put an end to the Distractions of the Nation in matters of *Religion*; and to that end, by the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, she desired, "They would consider of it without heat, or partial affection, or using any

The contend-
ing Religions
equally bal-
anced.

'reproachful terms of *Papist*, or *Heresy*; and that they would avoid the Extremes of *Idolatry* and Superstition on the one hand, and Contempt and Irreligion on the other; and that they would settle things so, as might bring the People to an *Uniformity* and cordial Agreement in them. And as to the State, she promised she would use her utmost endeavour to advance the Prosperity, and preserve the Affections of her Subjects. And tho' she had need then of their Assistance, yet she professed she would desire no Supply, but what they did freely and chearfully offer. And at the same time she represented *Calais* as a thing which they could not at that time hope to recover. Thus she would neither wheedle nor deceive her Subjects, but with an English Sincerity laid before them the Truth of the Case, and left it to God to direct them to what was best to be done. The Houses having heard and well considered what was offered on both sides, came at last to a full Resolution, That all the *Acts* and *Laws* of Mary her Sister, in favour of the Romish Religion, should be Repealed. That the good *Laws* of Edward the VIth. and Henry

Henry the VIIIth. in favour of the Reformation, should be Revived and Confirmed. That the Mass, which had been Restored by the Laws enacted in Queen Mary's time, should be Abolished as a thing that was full of Vanity and Levity. That all Images should be taken away out of the Churches: And all use of Holy Water. That the Liturgy and Publick Prayers should be all performed in the English Tongue, and by a Form prescribed, and then by Act of Parliament Confirmed and Allowed, as it had been before in her Brother's Reign, that so the People having a full and clear knowledg of the Service of the Church, might the better and more devoutly join both Voice and Heart in it. By this her prudent Care she gave the Romish Church one of the most mortal Wounds she ever received from any hand, by Rupudiating and Despising, Abolishing and Exposing all her Pagan Pageantry, and Jewish Ceremonies. She commanded all her Magistrates to take effectual Care, That the Romish Religion should not be exercised in Publick, or in any open Churches or Chappels; That all the Priests which should exercise the Romish Rites and

The Character of

Ceremonies, should be excluded out of the Church, and deprived of their Benefices. That they should exercise at all times a severe and wholesome Discipline: That the minds of men might thereby be reclaimed from Vice, and fixed to the true Worship of God. She commanded them to

* I do not remember that I have read elsewhere this Order for burning the Popish Books.

get as many of the Popish Books together, as they could possibly, and burn them; and that they should take away and destroy all the Preparations and Vestments belonging to the Mass, all the Images, and all other the Ceremonies of that Church. She commanded, That for the future no Respect or Obedience should be paid to the Pope as the Head of the Church. Nor did she scruple to assume the Authority of a Governor of the Church in her own Dominions, in all cases Sacred and Civil, which is called with us, THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY. And she abolished by Act of Parliament all that Authority and Jurisdiction which had heretofore been Usurped or used by the Bishops of Rome in this Kingdom, in Publick or in Private, which is called the Popish Tyranny, and was a pretended Supreme, both Spiritual and Secular

lar Jurisdiction. She also restored the Oath of Supremacy, which had been first introduced by Henry VIII. her Father; continued by Edward VI. her Brother; and was taken away and abolished by Queen Mary; by which she was acknowledged to be the Supreme Governor, in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical, as Temporal, within her Dominions; and that they renounced all Foreign Power, and Jurisdiction; and should bear the Queen Faith and True Allegiance. She declined the use of the word, Supreme Head, in this Oath, which had been used before by her Brother and Father, both in Reverence to our Saviour, to whom she thought that Title only belonged; and also to abate, by this Verbal Compliance, the Reluctance she feared from the Popish Party: For if she gained her Point, she was unconcerned for the Form of Words, as all Wise Princes ever were. Against the passing this Act Nine Bishops and Two Peers Protested, viz. the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Viscount Montacute; and they added some words which were very injurious to the Queen and the States; but she wisely dissembled it, and gave

The Character of
gave them no disturbance on that ac-
count.

The Com-
plaints of the
Popish Bi-
shops.

The Popish Bishops and Priests in the mean time were not idle and unconcerned Spectators; but being agitated by Hopes and Fears, and a confused Expectation what would be the Event of these Counsels, they made loud and bitter Complaints, *That men were drawn away from the Ancient and Established Roman Rites and Ceremonies. That Christ's Vicar (the P O P E) was robb'd of his Supremacy and Divine Jurisdiction. That the Reverence to the Holy and Apostolick See was brought to nothing; and that now the Pope's Authority was despised, intolerable Heresies were daily minted.* So they endeavoured to retain the Nation in the Profession of their Religion, and to uphold their Ceremonies by any means; and when this failed, to alienate the minds of the People from the Queen, and to dispose them to Sedition and Rebellion. The Queen saw the Tenderness of this, and did not think it was fit to despise their Complaints: *That therefore she might prevent the ill-effect.*

effects of their Malice, and withdraw the matter that fed their Fury , and threatened her Kingdom with Schisms and Factions , which would be the Causes of great Calamities , she appointed a Conference or Disputation between the *Roman Catholicks* and the *Protestants*, at *London*, Concerning the Authority of the Church , and the Supremacy of the Pope ; the Ceremonies in use in the Church of Rome , and the Change of the Elements in the Holy Eucharist ; that she might by this means unite the disagreeing minds of her Subjects, in one and the same opinion, and mutual Love and Charity to each other. In this Conference many of the most reverend Mysteries of the Christian Religion were on both sides debated with great Warmth and Heat, and much Learning ; yet nothing was gained on either side, by reason of the immoderate Opposition, and the implacable Hatred they bore each to other. So when the Popish Party saw that the Pope's Authority, which was once reverenced as Divine, was now become contemptible and infamous ; and that all the Reasons they could pretend

The Character of

for the Justification of their Ceremonies, were overwhelmed by the load of Infamy their Pride and Cruelty had brought upon them; so that it was not possible for them to abate the Hatred, or remove the Contempt the people were then possess'd with, against the Popish Clergy; they ful-
lily pretended, That in the Matters of Religion there was no need of Reason and Disputation; and defend-
ed themselves with more Passion and Arger, than Reason and Judg-
ment.

The Reformation estab-
lished.

After this Disputation there were Acts of Parliament passed for the Establishing the English Service, and concerning the Ministers of the Church, as also for Restoring the Queen's Supremacy, with the unanious Consent of the Peers, and the Applause of the Commons. But however, the Popish Party refused still to comply; and openly said, These Laws were not to be submitted to; and thereupon began a Dissention which is not yet ended. The turbulent Bishops and Clergy, who still adhered to the old Rites and Ceremonies, being there-
upon

upon bereaved of their Sees, made great Complaints of the Iniquity and Injustice of these Laws; and concealing themselves as well as they could in corners and lurking-holes, for fear of being prosecuted for their disobedience, they said the Queen was guilty of Heresy; and solicited that part of the Nobility and Commonalty which still stuck to the Church of Rome, to renounce their Obedience to her, and frankly to maintain the Old Service. They also sent their Agents to Rome, to perswade the Pope to Excommunicate her by Name, as one that had brought a New Heresy into the Church, and had confined the Bishop of Winchester and Lintoln, and many of the inferior Clergy, for sticking firmly to the Romish Ceremonies: And lastly, That she had assumed a Jurisdiction and Royal Authority, as well in all Spiritual Causes as Secular. The Queen on the other side, had by this time found the Inclination of her People, and being now well settled in her Throne, did not think fit to act any longer with that Reservedness she did at first, when she feared the Number and

and Authority of the Papists, who had then the Law on their side; but by her *Proclamation* she courageously and openly commanded them, *That they should embrace the True Religion, which was most acceptable to God, and leave their Popish Rites; or otherwise depart out of her Kingdoms, Royal City, and Dominions, within so many months.* And upon this, she removed all those Popish Noblemen which had in her Sister's time been advanced to any Publick Employments on Stations in the Court or Kingdom, and she settled Protestants in all those Places, and put the whole Management of Publick Affairs into their hands; affirming very stoutly, *That she would sooner lay down her life, than desist from that Zeal and Resolution she had taken up, for the bringing down the Wickedness of the Papists.* This Bravery encouraged all her Friends, and struck her Enemies dumb.

Thus was the Popish Religion abolished in England; when it had flourished many Ages in great Wealth, by the help of a profitable Ignorance; and a fallacious and deceitful Interpretation

pretation of the Sacred Scriptures. And the Protestant Religion being restored to that Liberty, Esteem, and Splendor it had had in the times of Edward the VIth. it was soon after by the means of their common Language and Vicinity, communicated to the Scots, and spread it self not only in their Cities and great Towns, but also in their Villages and Country Habitations. It is impossible to the Life

The Miseries
of Scotland in
the Reformation.

to describe the Calamities this Revolution brought upon the Scots Nation. The most sacred and venerable Churches, which seem'd to be secured from Violence by the Awe of Religion, were burnt down; the most sacred Chappels were first Rifled, and then Demolished by the Rabble: The Sepulchres of their Ancestors were pulled down, their Statues beaten down, and trodden under foot, and the basest and most lewd Injuries done to the Altars, as if the Papists had been mere Pagan Idolaters. I am so enraged (saith my Author, a Learned Scot) against these men, on the account of the great Ruin they wrought in my Native Countrey, that I cannot forbear expressing my Resentment:

The Happi-
ness of Eng-
land.

ment : For I am of opinion, That these Popish Monuments ought indeed to have been shut up, nor to have been demolished, because they were the Ornaments of our Countrey. But to return to Queen Elizabeth, she made it no part of her business to find out those peaceable Romish Priests, who had betaken themselves to private lurking holes, and secret places, more out of Fear than any Legal necessity : And if any of them by chance happened to be taken, they were committed to an honourable and easie restraint in the Cities, or delivered up into the hands of their own Bishops, to the end that by this her Moderation she might in the beginning of her Reign create an opinion of her Clemency in all her Subjects; and at the same time deprive these Priests of the opportunity of doing Mischief. There was not one of these men put to death, till Pope Paul the Vth. in the year 1570, excommunicated her by his Bull, upon which there followed a Rebellion of the Papists in the North: This was in the Twelfth Year of her Reign; and in the next Ten Years that followed, there was but

but Twelve men of that Religion executed, who were all Convicted of very great Crimes, by the most Legal Trials. The name of Popish was not punished in any man that was not guilty of great Wickedness; because in the beginning of a Reign it is a dangerous thing to punish Offences with too much Rigor; whereas Clemency is of good use: And she accordingly took care, by her Benefits to allure the minds of her Popish Subjects to her, rather than by Cruelties to fright them: Thus the Entrance of her Reign was made happy and blessed; and she was able by the Blessing of God to settle her Religion, and to lay the Foundations of a Long Peace at Home and Abroad.

Having thus totally abolished all Her Care to settle Pious and Learned Bishops and Clergymen. that Papal Superstition and Romp, which for so many Ages had domineered over the English, so that there was scarce any sign left that it had once been here; her first and greatest care was to advance men of Piety and Learning to the Bishopricks and Preferments in the Church. There were many Protestant Clergy-men of great Inte-

Integrity and Honesty, Innocency and Holiness, who during the *Marian Persecution* had fled into *Germany*; or being driven from their Churches, lurked up and down the Nation in obscure and remote places; these she recalled and restored to their former or better Stations, with more honour than they had been in before. So that after a *Recess of Five years Duration*, these men, who had been banished with Ignominy, were with Honour and Reputation reposseſſed of their Country, their Good Names, and their Liberties and Fortunes. She regranted to them all their Ancient Privileges, with ſome Improvements; and ſhe took ſuch as were of good report for their Learning and exemplary Lives, and ſet them to Govern the Church as BISHOPS. When any man was commended to her as a man of Learning, ſhe would ask if there were not others to be found, of more Learning and Piety, to whose Authority, Fidelity, and Prudence, ſhe might recommend the Care of the Church?

She

She took great care to curb the im-
moderate Liberty of the *P U R I-
T A N S*, who licentiously began to
sow Discords and Divisions in the
Church, and with a Fiery Zeal in
their Preachments endeavoured to ex-
cite the common people, (who were
then quiet and at ease) to Sedition,
by declaiming against the Jurisdicti-
on and Authority of the Bishops ; and
by her Prudence and Authority she
reduced many of the first Leaders,
from their rash courses to a moderate
Temper. In the Eighteenth year of
her Reign, (A. C. 1575.) the *Anabaptists*
baptists first appeared, or at least were discovered.
discovered to be in *England*; a Con-
venticle of *Dutch-men* of that Sect,
being then detected without *Aldgate*
in *London*, and Twenty seven of the
Meeters were taken up and Impris-
oned; of which Four bearing Fag-
gots at *Paul's Croſs*, recanted their
dangerous Opinions, and one *Dutch-
man* and ten Women were condem-
ned to be burnt; one of the Ten Wo-
men also recanted; eight others were
banished; but two of the number
continued so obstinate, that the Queen
ordered the *Writ de Heretico Combu-
rendo*,

The Character of

rends, to be issued against them, tho' Mr. John Fox, the Author of the Book of Martyrs, interceded with the Queen to spare their lives, and banish them. In this Letter he blesseth God, that none of the English were infected with these mad Opinions. And (saith he) I will most readily grant, That these F A N A T I C K Sects are by no means to be cherished in any State, but are to be severely corrected; but to exterminate them with Fire and Faggot is, I think, too hard. The Queen thereupon gave them a Months Reprieve, and ordered that Learned Divines should endeavour in that time to reduce them; which proving without effect, these two were burnt in Smith-field, the 22d. of July, and they died in great horror, with crying and roaring. In the Twenty sixt^h Year of her Reign, one Robert Brown, an English Clergy-man, began a new Sect also in the City of Norwich, his Hearers being half Dutch, half English: The Queen endeayoured to suppress this Schism in its Rife, and prohibited his Books, but that not taking effect, Thacker and Coping, two of his Disciples, were hanged at St. Edmonds-Bury

Two of
which were
burnt.

The Brownists.

Bury in *Suffolk*. The Queen was the more severe upon these Sects, because her Subjects were then untainted ; and these men made it their busines to draw in the unlearned multitude, and enflame them both against the Ecclesiastick and Civil Government ; and the Queen besides having before this time been forced to be very severe against some Popish Traitors that had conspired against her, she did not think it became her to be less concerned for the Majesty of God, than for her own Personal Safety. After this she caused their *Conventicles* to be care-
fully watched, and seized the Effects ^{Conventicles} suppressed.
of all Foreign Sectaries she found in *England*. She dealt more gently in the mean time with the *English Puritans*, who were the first beginners of the *English Separation*, and left them to the Discipline of the Bishops and the *High Commission*, where they were often call'd to account, for Reproaching the Church, Licentious Preachments, and Libelling the Bishops in their Prints. Having taken these effectual Cares for the Adorning and Confirming the Church, she committed all the other Concerns of Religion

The Character of

on to the Management of Peaceable, Moderate; and Judicious men, and spent her whole Care and Solicitude in preserving, adorning, and strengthening her State and Kingdoms. In all this time she was never severe against Any *Papist*, who had not first been clearly convicted to have raised Sedition, armed the People against her, or by Rumors and false Insinuations to have endeavoured to render the Queen odious and contemptible to her People.

The Behavi-
our of Pope
Pius IV.

P I U S IV. Pope of Rome, in the beginning of her Reign (A. C. 1561.) having deeply considered the Dangers and Ruin which then threatened the Papacy and Church of *Rome*, though he was enraged against the *Protestants* to the utmost degree, yet seeing how little the Passions and Violences of the last *Pope Paul IV.* had profited them; he thought it became him to act a contrary part; and recalled the Council of *T R E N T*, which had been some years before indict-ed by the Authority of the See of *Rome*, rather for the upholding the Pope's pretended Ecclesiastical Authority, than for the promoting the Salvation of men; and

The Council
of Trent re-
called.

and which, when things succeeded contrary to the expectation of his Predecessors in that See, had been frequently intermitted, and had not been assembled since the year 1552, but was now again renewed, as the only means left for the healing the Wounds of Christendom. In this Council many things which had by the Mistakes, Ambition, and Avarice of the Popes of Rome, been changed and corrupted, were considered and debated; and particularly that grand Question was to be determined, *Concerning the Authority and Power of the Pope in Spiritual and Civil Causes.* When the Protestant Princes were call'd to this Council, they answered, That they did not own the Pope had any Power to call a Council. That it did not belong to him, but to the Emperor to Indict Councils. That he had no Right to give or take away Kingdoms. And having sharply declaimed against the corrupt Manners of his Clergy, and deplored the Calamities of the times on that account, they represented the Pride, Pomp, Luxury, Ambition, Avarice, and Cruelty of the Court of Rome, in which mere Wolves took upon them the Office of the Pastors

The Plea of
the Protestant
Princes a-
gainst it.

The Character of

of the Church. And they said, this Council at Trent was not called to Establish Religion and true Piety, but to confirm the Inventions of men, or rather of Satan; not for the reforming the Lives and Manners of men, but to defend the Pretended Dignity of the See of Rome, and the vast and boundless Authority of the Pope. That it was not intended for the Purgation the Christian Flock, but for the Establishing and Confirming their inveterate Errors. Tho the Pope had had these sharp Replies from the German Protestant Princes; and the Guise's and Spanish Faction had represented to him, That it would be an undervaluing of his Power and Person, to send a Nuncio to England, where he would certainly be rejected; yet Pius IV. would not be disengaged, but said, *He would humble himself even to Heresie it self, in regard that whatsoever was done to gain Souls to Christ, did be seem that See.*

Martiningo sent Nuncio into England. And accordingly he sent Abbot Martiningo to the Queen, who came as far as Flanders, and there he met with her Commands not to cross the Seas, but at his Peril; and altho the King of Spain and the Emperor of Germany

ny did earnestly intreat he might be heard, yet the Queen stood her ground, And rejected by the Queen.
and replied, That she could not treat with the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Authority was for ever excluded out of *England* by Act of Parliament. Nay, she would give the Pope's *Nuncio* no other Answer, but a flat *Denial*; tho she gave this reason to the *French* and *Spaniards*, to give them some satisfaction: For she well perceived this Remedy did not tend to the healing the Wounds of the Church, but to the making them incurable; and the Event justified her Conduct,

In the mean time the Queen clearly foresaw, that the Restoring the Party well disposed to re-
Protestants to their Native Countrey, and their former Stations, would dis-
oblige all the Popish Nobility of *Eng-*
land; who tho for the present they suppressed their Resentment, yet when occasion was offered, they would not fail to do her the utmost Mischief that was in their Power. The only noise of the coming of a *Nuncio* from the Pope, encouraged many to break the Laws made against the Pope and his Authority, with great boldness; and

E 3

they

The Character of

they spread false Reports abroad, That the Queen was going to change her Religion, and alter the Government of the Realm; to dispose the Protestants to join with the Papists in a Rebellion to her Ruin. She saw also, that at length she should be involved in a Foreign War, and that the Pope would fulminate against her; all which Dangers the Greatness of her Soul despised. She also changed her Privy-Council, into which she chose *Protestants* of famed Prudence and Moderation; and she openly and avowedly broke the Power, and lessened the Authority of her *Popish Nobility* and *Gentry*. The Pope having at this time sent a *Legate* into *Ireland*, who had joined himself to some desperate *Traytors* then in Rebellion against her, and endeavouring to deprive her of all Right and Title to that Kingdom; Some others of that Persuasion were found also to have practised with the Devil by *Conjurations*, *Charms*, and *casting Figures*, to be informed of the Length and Continuance of her Reign; but *Heaven* would not, and *Hell* could not help them.

The

The Affairs of the Church being thus settled, she applied her mind to restore the Civil State of *England* to its Ancient Strength and Happiness, it having been strangely shaken by the Actions and Divisions in the Three Reigns that preceded hers: To this purpose she passed many Acts of Parliament, and other State-Orders for her own Security, and the Welfare of her Subjects. She made some new Additions to the old Laws, for the better Administration of her Civil Government, for the Promoting the common Interest of her Subjects, or for the Regulating her Parliaments: She enriched her Kingdom also; and whereas she found a great part of the current Money of *England* adulterated and mixed with Brass, she reduced it all to the old Standard, and made it good *STERLING*. She furnished all her Havens, Sea-Ports, Cities, and Frontier places, with Garrisons, Forts, Castles, Cannon, Ball, Gun powder, and Provisions. She took care to have her own Gunpowder made in *England*, which before had been fetch'd in from abroad. She cast great quantities of Brass and Iron Ordnance, after she had

The Money
reduced to
the old Stan-
dard.

The Security
of the Nation
providently
taken care for.

had discovered a plentiful Mine of Brass at *K E S W I C K* in *Cumberland*. She fortified *B E R W I C K* anew, and caused all the Frontier places towards *Scotland* to be repaired, and placed Garisons of good Soldiers in them. Tho she was upon better terms with the *Scots*, than any of her Ancestors for many Ages had been, especially after they embraced the Reformed Religion, yet she would not so wholly rely on their good affections, as to neglect a timely provision for her own Security: And when all these great Designs had brought a Debt upon the Crown, she chose rather to sell a part of her Crown-Lands to pay it, than be over-burthensome to her People. She ordered also the Debts contracted by her Father and Brother (but neglected by her Sister) to be paid. She provided a great *Magazine*, and furnished her Kingdom with plentiful Stores of Arms and Ammunition, and all sorts of War-like Provisions, that she might always have at hand whatever was needful to secure her against the sudden Insults of her Foreign Enemies, or any Insurrections which might be raised at

Magazines
and Naval
Stores provi-
ded.

at home. She caused her Forces to be often drawn out, viewed, and muster'd, and with Honours and other Rewards she recompenced those that in this kind had deserved well of her; by which she much encouraged her Soldiers and Sea-men. She encreased her Fleet, and built many large Men of War, and furnished her Naval Stores with whatever was needful; and she encreased the Wages of her Mariners and Seamen, and appointed a Guard of Ships to ride always in the *Downs*, for the Security of the *British* Seas; and carefully scoured the Seas by her Men of War, and purged them from Pyrates and Sea-Robbers; so that in all her time the Seas were secure, safe, and open. Dr. *Heylin* in his History of the Reformation, acquaints us that she began these Preparations in the year 1560. And that holding it a safer Maxim in the Schools of Policy, not to Admit, than to endeavour by strong hand to Expel an Enemy, she entertained the fortunate thoughts of Walling her Kingdom round about with a puissant *Navy*; for our Merchants had already encreased their Shipping, by managing some part of that Wealth Large Ships of War built.

'thy Trade which formerly had been
 'Monopolized by the *Hanse-Towns* or
 'Easterlings. And thereupon she re-
 'solved not to be wanting to her self
 'in Building Ships of such Burthen,
 'and so fit for Service, as might ena-
 'ble her in a short time not only to
 'Protect her Merchants, but to Com-
 'mand the Ocean : Of which the *Sper-*
niard found good proof, to his great
 'Loss, and almost to his total Ruin,
 'in the last Twenty years of her Glo-
 'rious Government. At the same time,
 'by her Proclamation, dated *Novem-*
ber 15. 1560. she commanded all the
 'Easterling, Flemish, and Spanish Mo-
 'neys to be brought into the Mint,
 'to take the Stamp of her Royal Au-
 'thority, or otherwise not to pass for
 'current Money in her Kingdom ;
 'which had a strange effect, and en-
 'riched both her and her People.

The means
 by which she
 improved and
 enriched her
 Kingdom.

She invited all sorts of *Artificers* in-
 to *England*; and by proposing to them
 good terms and great Privileges, she
 repeopled the almost-desolate City of
NORWICH, and the Towns of
COLCHESTER and *MALD-*
STON: She increased the Inhabi-
 tants

tants of many of her other Ancient Towns ; and she by her Laws reduced the Inhabitants of the Countrey-Villages from Laziness and Beggary, to Labour and Husbandry ; so that there was no part of her Kingdom but was cultivated and improved to the best advantage. When she was to settle any thing relating to her *Revenues, her Treasury, or the Administration of Justice*, she admitted none to advise her, but men of good Knowledge and Experience in those Affairs. If she considered of any *Military Concerns*, she always call'd to her Assistance the old Experic'd Commanders, which had spent much time in Camps. She was as careful to give a good and a prudent Dispatch of Publick Transactions, and the great Affairs of private men, Ambassies, the Petitions of her Subjects, the Requests of her Allies and Confederates, and all matters concerning Commerce and Trade with Foreigners. She took the opportunity of the times, and her Subjects Affections to her, to curb the Luxury of Youth, all immoderate Expences and waste in Cloathes and other Furniture, and by severe Laws carefully

fully put in Execution. She reduced her People to the Ancient Thrift, when they were declining towards Effeminacy and over-great Expences, which are ever the fore-runners of Poverty, and the Causes of great Calamities and Revolutions in all those States they have prevailed in.

Laws and Orders made for the publick good of her people.

She went on to consider and provide whatever was recommended to her as useful to any part of her State, carefully viewing the Conveniences and the Inconveniences that were annexed to every Change. And whatever was at last found useful and profitable to the Body of her People, was settled by the Authority of her Council or Parliament, as the case required. She procured the Repeal of all those Laws which were either unprofitable or unjust; and she brought others which were out of use, into esteem again, and amended the defects that were found in them. It was a Maxim with her, That *Equitable Laws, and Equal Justice* are the two sure and lasting Foundations of a State. She was as much reverenced and feared on the account of her *Justice, Temperance,*

perance, and Continence, as on that of her Royal Authority and Majesty.

She favoured the Protestant Bishops, The Bishops and Com- and the Commons of *England*, as a mons favour- means to curb the Insolence of the ed, as a Balance Nobility. She would never gratifie to the Nobi- any great Ambitious man with the lity. grant of any thing which might inflame his Avarice, or make him arrogant. She had a true value, and a good esteem for all men of illustrious Parts, and of good Learning; and she preferr'd such men to all Employments, and rewarded their Virtue with Honours. When the meaner people at any time crowded about her Coach, with great desire to see and salute her with loud Shouts, and fervent Prayers for her Prosperity, and long and happy Reign over them; she would ever return their Loyal Zeal with much Courtship and Civility; so that some said she was too Theatrical in her Carriage towards them; but as by her Meekness, Clemency, Lenity, Justice, and the settling good Laws and exact Justice, she had won their hearts, so by this Condescension and Flattery she fixed their Affections, so that they

they would have willingly sacrificed all they had, to her Service and Safety. She exercised a moral Friendship and Familiarity with many private persons ; and ever reserved in her sole disposal all the Rewards of Virtue and good Service. She would never suffer any Immunities or Privileges, Benefices, Church-Livings, Governments, or the Rights of her Kingdom, to be openly sold. She advanced her Friends, Kinsmen, and Relations, with great Kindness and Affection, and no less Moderation and Prudence. She made Sir Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, who was her Cousin German ; and she gave him Riches, Employments, and Attendance suitable to that Station. She

She favoured and advanced William Lord Howard of Effingham, on the score of his being related to her, and of his good Deserts, to be Lord Chamberlain of England ; of her own free motion, without any solicitation from themselves or others. She preserved the Family of Seymour, (which was ruin'd by the Attainder of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, Uncle and Lord Protector of King Edward VI in the year 1552.) and in the first year of her Reign she restored

red Edward his Son to the degree of Earl of Hertford : She restored also several of the Nobility, whose Families had been ruined by her Sister, and put them into the same condition they were before. *She Attainted no man in all her Reign, by Act of Parliament.* No man ever could perceive, that the least remainders of any Offence were left in her mind ; but when she could most easily have revenged her self, she always chose rather to forget the Injury ; so that every man presently promised himself a better Fortune for the future. If there was any Quarrel between any of the great Nobility, she presently made it her business to reconcile them each to other ; and *she woold on such occasions exhort them, Her advice to not to suffer any Enmity to settle between their Families ; that they should not involve their Children, and educate them in the Dissentions of their Families, and a desire of Revenge : That they should cut off those Feuds that had descended to them from the Contests of their Ancestors ; and with an invincible Courage repress the Foreign Fury of their Enemies abroad ; but with one heart and one mouth provide for the Safety and* the Nobility.

The Character of
and Security of their Native Countrey
at home.

Her care to
change or
abolish evil
Customs and
Laws of for-
mer times.

As she took this care to put an end to the Dissentions of her Nobility, so she was no less careful to root up those evil Customs which had crept into the Nation in the former Reigns, and tended apparently to the Ruin of it ; some of these she corrected, and others she totally abolished. She rescinded all Sales that were made for the cheating Creditors ; she dealt very severely with all those that were found guilty of any Frauds or Cheats in the Management of the Publick Revenues, or the purveyance for her Court ; which she was wont to call Harpies, which fouled and ravaged all they could come at ; and she discouraged as much as was possible, all the tricks and corruptions of the Courts of Justice : She encreased the Wages and Salaries of the Judges ; and that they might the better be enabled and encouraged to go their Circuits, and administer Justice to her people, she allowed them Travelling-Money and Purveyance. The effect of this prudent Administration was the enriching her and her Subjects, attend-
ed

ed with great Glory, and a willing obedience from thofe under her happy Government. The Countrey was rarely well Tilled and improved. The Subject quiet and rich; and her *Councils* and *Parliaments* honoured and reverenced. In short, all thofe Perfec^{tions} which ſeparately have made ſo many Great Men admired, met in this one Lady, *viz.* Civil Prudence, for the Government of a State; the knowledge of Equity and Laws; and an exact Skill of managing a Kingdom, and the Publick Affairs of it. Her Goverment was not like that of moft other Women, turbulent and impudent; but was grateful to her Subjects, pleafing to the People, acceptable to the Nobility and Gentry, equal and just to her Allies, and admired by the Neighbour Nations. She has been celebrated not only in her own times, but in all that have ſince followed, and will be to the end of the world, on the account of thofe Divine Virtues and Deserts; *For ſhe was truly accounted the Parent of her People, a Prince by her Nobles, and the Patroness of true Piety and Religion, by the Protestant Nations about her.* Nor was

there ever any Prince that was equally esteemed and loved by the Nobility and Commonalty too of his own Kingdom, as Queen **E L I Z A B E T H** was by hers. If she happened at any time to be sick, or ever so little disordered in her health, her Nobility would be so alarmed at it, that they would willingly never stir from her to eat or drink, or take any care of themselves ; and all degrees of people would fly in vast Numbers to the Churches, and with Tears and the most devout Prayers beg her Life and Health, and the Continuance of her Government over them, till God heard their Petitions, and restored her to her Health. Nor was this an enjoined and formal Devotion, but it was as hearty and as earnest as that which is made for the nearest and dearest Relations : And when they had obtained their desire, the Joy and the Gratitude they expressed, shewed they took her Preservation and Life for a Publick and an Universal Blessing. When in the beginning of her Reign she had first taken care to reform and settle Religion, and after that to redress and restore the Civil State or Go-

Government of *England*, (which had been brought by the Calamities of the foregoing Reigns, not only into a deplorable, but almost into a desperate condition, but now were by her Authority, Prudence, and Moderation, with the Assistance of her Council, brought to the state of Tranquillity, Order, and Equity she designed); the Fears of *England* which before oppressed the Nation in relation to Foreign Dangers as well as Domestick, expired.

When her first Parliament had settled 1559. The
 the Succession and Religion, their next Parliament
 care was for the Marriage of the Queen, Address to
 and the providing for future times; the Queen to
 and accordingly, the Commons, by
 common consent resolved to Address
 to the Queen, (fearing, though without just cause), That she should Marry a Foreign Prince, and thereby bring the English Liberties, and the Protestant Religion, into the same dangers they had been exposed to in the former Reign. *'They* therefore
 'represented the Affection of the
 'Nation to her, and said, If they could
 'hope she might be Immortal, they
 F 2 'would

' would rest satisfied ; but that being
 ' a vain Imagination , they earnestly
 ' besought her to chuse such an Huf-
 ' band as might make her self and the
 ' Nation happy ; and by the Blessing
 ' of God bring such Issue as might
 ' Reign after her Death, which they
 ' prayed God might be very late. To
 this she replied, *That tho the Subject*

*Which she re- they came about was not acceptable to
 fused, and in her, yet it was a great satisfaction to
 a set Speech her, to see how zealous they and her
 told them, she other Subjects were for her Welfare ;
 resolved to and that she believed they desired it for
 live in her's and the Nation's Good. And as
 Celebacy.*

*to the changing my present state, (said
 she) and Marrying , which you so ear-
 nestly desire I would do, I have long since
 persuaded my self, That I was brought
 into the world by the special Provi-
 dence of God, that I might in the
 first place think and do what tended
 most to his Glory : Therefore I have
 chosen that state of Life which is the
 freest from human cares, that so I might
 be at leisure only to attend the Service
 of God. And if it had been possible for
 the Marriage of a Potent Prince to
 have allured me, or the Fears of Death
 to have affrighted me from this Reso-
 lution,*

lution, I might have been long since engaged in the Honourable State of Matrimony ; and these were my thoughts when I was yet a Subject : But now when all the Cares which attend the Governing of a Kingdom, are come upon me, it would appear a very inconsiderate and imprudent thing in me, to add to them the Cares of a Married State. In truth (said she) I am already married (if nothing else will suffice you) to the Kingdom of ENGLAND. See (what I wonder you could forget) the Pledge of my Marriage and betrothing to the Nation : And stretching out her hand, she shewed them on one of the Fingers of her Right Hand, the Gold Ring had been put upon it, according to the Custom, at her Coronation. And after a short pause, she thus went on: And I desire you would not look upon me as Childless, and on that account weak and defenceless; for you and all other English-men are my Children and Kinsmen; and if God doth not deprive me of you, (as I hope he will not), there can be no reason why I should be thought Childless. Yet I cannot but commend you for this, That you have not prescribed or appointed

The Character of

who should be my Husband ; for this would have been a very great Affront to a Sovereign Prince as I am, and very misbecoming you who are my Subjects born : But if ever it should please the Divine Majesty to incline me to change my Condition, I promise you I will never do any thing that shall tend to the Damage of the State ; but will to the utmost of my power take such an Husband, as shall take as much Care of the Kingdom as I do. But then if I should continue in my present State of Life, I do not doubt, but that God will so direct mine and your Counsels, that there shall be no doubt of my Successor, who may be more beneficial to the Kingdom, than one born of me ; for it is often observed, That the Children of the Best Princes do degenerate from the Virtues of their Parents. And as for me, it will be the best Memorial and the greatest Honour I can wish to leave behind me, to have this Inscription after my Death upon my Tomb, **HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.** And she concluded, That she took their Address in good part, and desired them to carry back her Thanks for

for the Care the Commons had of her.

By this means it came to pass, that Her wonder-
many Noblemen of great Estate and
Power, especially such as enjoyed the
Blessings of Nature and Fortune,
Beauty and Wealth, united together,
conceived an almost certain hopes, that
they should win their Maiden Queen,
and were by her Arts carried on in that
expectation. But on the contrary, tho' She
lived in a Royal Plenty, and was attack-
ed by the blandishments of Nature, and a
multitude of external pleasing Objects,
yet She persisted in the Resolution she
had taken, and with a constant and
unmoveable Soul preferred her Maiden
State to any Marriage. Though she
was almost every night tempted to
change her Resolution, by the Luxu-
ry, Chearfulness, and Wantonness of
a Court which shewed it self in In-
terludes, Banquets, and Balls, and was
surrounded on all sides with the Ap-
pellments of Pleasures, and the things
which might provoke the most cool
and languid Lust; yet she preserved
her self from being Conquered or
broken by them: For the Fear of
God, and a true Sense of Piety ex-
tinguished in her all Feminine In-

The Character of

temperance and Lust. Though she was the Sovereign and Mistress of all, she did nothing that was insolent; tho' she had an abundance of Wealth at her Command, she was not dissolute, but she governed her self by the severest Rules of Chastity and Continence. Yet her Juvenile Age, (for she was then about Twenty five years old) and the Intemperance which will ever attend a Court, gave occasion to some injurious Reports; but then she as easily washed off that slanderous Infamy, which was one of the most raging Crimes of the Age, by the incredible Continence and Chastity of her whole Life; her Modesty and Prudence over-ruling and controlling the Natural Inclination and Disposition. Her *Maids of Honour*, who waited on her, took a wonderful pleasure in her Manners, her Discourses, and Conversation, and wholly applied themselves to imitate her, borrowing from her examples of Modesty and Chastity; so that they would never suffer any young Nobleman to have any familiar Acquaintance with any of them, if he had not recommended himself to them by some Generous Manly Action in the Wars. A-

Amongst those who in the several parts of her Life aspired to the Honour of her Bed, *Edward Courtney*, ^{The Princes and Great men that} Courted her *Earl of Devonshire*, and *Marquess of Exeter*, was the first who courted her in her youngest years: And after him, *Christian III. King of Denmark*, for his Son *Frederick*; after this, *Ferdinand the Emperor* desired her for his Son *Charles*; *Philip II. King of Spain*, * *Erix King of Sweden*, and * *Adolph Duke of Holstein*; the Dukes of † *An-* † In 1568. *you* and ∴ *Alenzon*, both Princes of the *In 1574.* House of *France*, desired to have Married her; but all this was to no purpose; for when she had by these Treas-ties deluded them, and secured her self, she ever after pretended, That at her Coronation she had obliged her self not to Marry a Foreign Prince. Yet there were some at home, who after this deceived themselves with these deluding hopes; amongst whom was *James Earl of Arran*, a Scotch No-bleman, who was recommended to the Queen for an Husband, by the Protestants of that Kingdom, as the best means of Uniting *England* and *Scot-land*; but though she commended this Gentleman, yet she rejected the Pro-pofal.

posal. There was also one Sir William Pickering, a Gentleman who had improved himself by Ambassies and the French Breeding, who aspired to it, tho it was so much above his Fortunes. And Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, one descended of one of the Noblest and Richest Families in the English Nation, and a person of great Interest and Authority, though he was advanced in years, yet he would also very fain have married the Queen; but when he perceived his Old Age was ridicul'd and despised, he left the Court, and went abroad, and never came back again into England.

By degrees
she became
more averse
to Marriage
than she
seemed at first
to be.

She persisted in this Resolution of Celebacy, with a Constancy that was admired then, and ever since; and at last she would grow angry when any of her Subjects spake to her of Marriage, which they as passionately desired, as she declined it. The reason of this was wonderfully exaggerated in the thoughts of men, and some were very unmannly (to speak the best of it) in their Conjectures; whilst others ascribed it, with much more proba-

probability, to an habit of Chastity, which put a Curb upon all irregular Desires ; or the fears of changing her Fortune, and diminishing her Authority ; it being but reasonable she should suspect, that whosoever had Married her, would have taken upon him the principal Administration, and so have abated her Power and Reputation : others ascribed it to the Counsel of her Friends, who yet prevailed with her to suffer Treaties of Marriage to be carried on, to render Foreign Princes more favourable to her Interests, by the hopes of attaining her at last. But whatever was the true Cause of it, which can be certainly known to none but God, had this Queen been of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, this single Virtue would have gone a great way to the Canonizing of her, as it has of many others ; and she certainly would have much more deserved it, than any of the best that have been Sainted on that account only.

The common people of *England* for a long time most firmly believed, That *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester,* and

The charact-
er of the
the Earl of
Leicester,

and *Lord Steward of the House* to her Majesty, would be the man that would marry the Queen: He was youngest Son to *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, who with his Elder Sons, *John* call'd Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Ambrose*, Sir *Guilford*, and Sir *Henry Dudley*, had been found Guilty of High Treason, and the Father, and Sir *Guilford* a younger Son, was beheaded in the first year of Queen *Mary's Reign*; when this *Robert* (who was the youngest Son his Father had then living) was spared merely on the account of his youth, and never Tried or Dishonoured. This Gentleman in his younger years was a very goodly Person, of a Beautiful and Lovely Complexion and Features, but high foreheaded, which yet was not then thought any diminution of his Beauty; he was a very great Politician, but no great Soldier; and tho he was not over-righteous in his Actions, yet in his Letters there was not known a Stile more *Religious*, and full of the streams of Devotion. This Favourite was then in the Verdure and most Flowering Spring of his Youth, of a Stately Carriage, a Modest and Grave Look,

Look, a great Flatterer, of a pleasant
and easie nature in outward shew or
appearance ; and being endowed with
all those Accomplishments the *City*
or *Court* could teach him , in which
he had had his Education, he had in-
sinuated himself into the Favour and
Familiarity of the Queen, by his spe-
cious shews of Loyalty , Industry ,
and Vigilance in her Service, and for
a long time managed the greatest
Station in the Court, and was reput-
ed the First Minister of State, though
his Counsels were not over-fortunate.
His Brother *Ambrose* was Heir to the
Estate, and he to the Wisdom of that
Family ; for he had all the Arts of
the *Publican Dudley*, his Grandfather,
and the Policies of *Northumberland*
his Father. He was the most reser-
ved man of that Age , that saw all ,
and was invisible , carrying a depth
not to be fathomed, but by the *Searcher*
of Hearts. He became in his latter
times fullen to his Superiors, haughty
towards his Equals, insolent to his
Inferiors, ungrateful to his Friends,
and pernicious to his Enemies, and in
a word, intolerable to all but the Queen.
She made him first Master of her
Horse,

Horse, and after *Earl of Leicester*, for the Sufferings of his Ancestors, both in her Father's and Sister's Reign: But the common people, who very rarely penetrate into the Thoughts of Princes, ascribed all his Power and good Fortune to his Wit and Carriage, which was formed by Nature and Art, to the alluring of the softer Sex, he being of a very taking Behaviour, and an excellent *Dancer*, so that one of the best *Dances* of that Age, was called by his Name, *The Leicester Dance*. When he found the Tide of Fortune flowing according to his Ambitious Wishes, his heart was too much lifted up; and being sometimes confounded by the Number of his Attendants, and those that waited upon and visited him, he would forget their Names, and call them by that of other men. He often changed his Cloathes, and affected Gallantry to an Excess. He put himself forward, and took up the distant Employments of *Peace* and *War*, in exclusion of others who had more Experience, (especially in War) and were Nobly born. He was continually plodding to find the Studies, Abilities, Forces, and Dispositions of other

other men ; and so great was his Application and Parts , that he rarely miscarried in his Enquiries . He would terrifie and sometimes destroy his Enemies , and allure his Friends by the shews of Rewards : He by his Interest advanced his Dependants , Kindred and Relations , to Honours and Employments ; And when he found his opportunity , he as craftily sold his Mistress's Favours , and the Employments he had taken from others : He did the same by the Livings of the Church , but then he took Bonds and other Securities , to avoid the Penalties of Simony . Yet there were few for a great while called to the Council-Table , or admitted to Titles of Honour , but by his Commendation and Procurement ; so that he seemed not so much to be the Queen's particular Favourite , as her Partner in the Royal Power ; and he was accordingly courted and rever'd by the rest of the Nobility .

The Queen made him *Earl of Leicester* in the year 1564. she gave him also a considerable Estate out of the Crown-Lands , and advanced him from *Master of the Horse* , to *Lord Steward* of

of her Household. She had made Ambrose Dudley, his eldest Brother, (then living, for John the eldest of them died a Prisoner in the Reign of Queen Mary, without Issue), about two years before Earl of Warwick; and enriched him with the Grant of a plentiful Estate to bear the Charge of that Honour; much of which being made up out of the Estates that had been forfeited to the Crown, this and the sudden Rise of these two Brothers, who had not done any considerable Service to the Nation, that was known, either in Peace or War, made them envied and hated not only by the Nobility and Courtiers, but by the Populace: And Leicester encreased the Aversion of all men, by his licentious and expensive way of living, and by his Rapins which he craftily made upon many; he in other Instances perverted the Laws, and invaded the last Wills and Testaments of the Dead: He ruined many of his Neighbours by cunning and tedious Law-Suits to get their Estates which lay convenient for him: In the mean time he gave himself up intirely to the exercise of a most wicked and univerfal Luxury,

She Prefer'd
him in Title
and estate,
and advanced
his Brother.

Luxury, and brought into *England* from
—Foreign Countreys, many new and un-
heard-of Pleasures, and invented new
kinds of Dishes to gratifie his Gluttony :
He would drink dissolved *Pearls* and *Am-
ber* to excite his Lust; and had so accusto-
med himself to the scents of *Musk* and
Civet, that when he went *General* into
the *Low-Countries*, he could not live
without them ; so that in short, he very
much exceeded the Intemperance of
all former times, and made an accursed
addition to the ruining-disorders of
men. His Example corrupted many
of the younger Nobility also, who
being prone to Luxury, very easily
imitated his Vices, and thought that
the height of human Happiness was
in Pleasures ; and therefore wholly
neglecting the Care and Improve-
ment of their Minds, spent all their
Time, Money, and Thoughts on the
Dressing themselves after the *French*
Fashion, and pleasing their Senes. The ill effects
of Luxury.

Who can conceive the Poverty that fol-
lowed these immense Expences ? And
the bold Adventures these impoverish-
ed Gallants were forced upon to sup-
ply their Wants ? Desperation and Ef-
feminacy making them outragious to
G the

the Ruin of the State. Certainly there is nothing that is more destructive to a Nation, and consequently more to be avoided, than the Feasts and Rices of a prodigal *Apicus*, or the Luxury and Banquets of a profuse *Lucullus*. Thus was *Fitz-Alan* the last Earl of *Arundel*, and *Edward de Vere*, *Lord High Chamberlain of England*, and Earl of *Oxford*, the Baron of *Windfor*, and many rich Knights and Gentlemen, who might have been the Ornaments of their Countrey, by his ill Example and Conversation drawn into great Expences, Chargeable Feasts, Balls, and Interludes, and an excessive Gallantry, the common Attendants of too much Ease and Plenty; by which they much wasted their Estates, and impoverished their Families; and their Bodies also were much softned and unmann'd by their Excesses and Sloth; and the generous Inclinations and Faculties of their Souls stifled and weaken'd by the Charms of Pleasures.

His designs
in debauch-
ing the No-
bility.

There are some who think that the crafty *Earl of Leicester* designed this debauching the Prime Nobility of *Eng-*
land, when he entred upon this way of living,

living, that he might by it render them weak and contemptible : But however, it is most certain, the great influence he had upon the Queen, and his being the Prime Minister of State ; and acquainted with all her Counsels and Intentions, made him extremely hated by all the rest. He had by his cunning and crafty Projects and Counsels, engrossed all the Rewards of Virtue, Riches, Honours, Attendants, and the first Place of Minister of State, and he managed them, and lived without any Religion towards God, or Fidelity to men, making it his great design to cover all things with Luxury, Cruelty, and Rapines. With whom did he continue in a constant Friendship ? What good man did not find him an Enemy ? He was to the utmost degree ungrateful to all his Friends ; and if any of his Enemies had at any time a little too freely expressed their Resentments against his Dishonesty, Wickedness, Injuries, Power, or Perfidy, (as he gave such too frequent occasions to reflect on them) he seldom failed to cause them to be treacherously murdered. Many fell in his time (saith a Great Man of that Age) who saw not the hand that

pull'd them down; and as many died, that knew not their own disease: He would not trust his Familiars above one year, but either Transported them to Foreign Services, or wafted them to another world. In the year 1583, he caused one Mr. Edward Adern, a Generous, but Imprudent and Rash Gentleman, a zealous Roman-Catholick, and a great Defamer of others, to be drawn into Troubles, by the means of one Somervil (a mad Papist) his Father-in-Law, and one Hall, a Popish Priest; and being found guilty of Treason, he, his Wife, Somervil, and the Priest, were all sentenced to die. Somervil hanged himself in Prison, Adern was executed, and Hall the Author and Procurer of all this Mischief, was preserved by the Intercession of Leicester. This was by all men looked upon a Spectacle of great Compassion: He laid Snares for many of the Nobility, ruining the Reputation of some of them, endangering the Lives of others; and some Noble Families he utterly extinguished. He impiously and sacrilegiously invaded the Revenues of the Church, and brought some of the Bishops into Danger and Dis-favour. He incensed the Queen against the Lord Arch-

Archbishop Grindal, a Prelate of great Integrity and Honesty, by his Calumnies and Slanders. This Grave and Religious Prelate was (as Mr. Cambden *Anno 1583.* faith) first made Bishop of London, then Archbishop of York, and afterwards of Canterbury, and for many years enjoyed the Favour of the Queen, till by the crafty Insinuations of Leicester, she was set against him, upon a pretence and slanderous Report, That he was a Favourer of the Conventicles of the turbulent Puritan Preachers, and of their Preachments; but in truth because he would not patiently dissemble the Disorders of one Julio an Italian Physician, and a Favourite of Leicester's, who had Married another man's Wife, for which the good Prelate stoutly prosecuted him, though Leicester appeared for the Criminal.

The best of Princes, after all the Care and prudent Foresight that Mortality is capable of, are yet sometimes deceived in the choice of their Servants. Leicester having married the Countess Dowager of Essex, who was a Widow when his first Lady died, and having no Children of his own, was easily per-

Leicester recommends Robert Earl of Essex to the Queen.

swaded by his Wife to recommend *Robert Devereux*, the young *Earl of Essex*, her Son, to the Queen, as one fit to serve her Majesty; and by this he opened the way to that great man, and brought him with good advantage into the Court, and into Business. Nor would this Nobleman afterwards refuse to acknowledge, That all the Authority and Favour he had acquired with the Queen, was owing in a great measure to the Assistance his *Step-Father* had at first given him.

The Actions
of that Earl
in Holland.

When he had some time served as a Volunteer, first under his own Father in *Ireland*, and after in other places, he was made *General of the Horse*, and *Field-Marshal*, under the Earl of *Leicester*; when in the year 1585, he went *General of the English Forces* in the *Low-Countries*. In this Expedition this Noble Gentleman behaved himself with that Courage, Bravery, Moderation, and Prudence, that he won the Love and Esteem of the whole Army; and by that Reputation he became very Popular, which afterwards was the occasion of his Ruin. The truth was, he for Honesty, Valour, Liberality,

and Simplicity, was equal to the best of the Nobility of his time ; but in Prudence and Discretion he was inferior to many. He for a long time enjoyed the Favour of the Queen, which his goodness prompted him freely to employ to the doing good, and to the relief of the indigent and oppressed ; so that all his Greatness seemed only to be lodged in him as Water in a Cistern, for the good of others. He was not observed to be addicted to any Vice, but that of *Messing* and *Luxury* ; but as to all his other Appetites, he had them in a tolerable subjection to his Reason. In the year 1587, he was made *Master of the Horse*. In 1590, he was sent into France with an *English Army*, to assist Henry the IVth. In 1596, he was made *Earl Marshal of England*, and after that, *Master of the Ordnance* the same year. In the year 1597, he was *Admiral* of the second Squadron of that Fleet which was sent against Cadiz. In 1599, he was made *Lord Deputy of Ireland*, with more ample power than had been given to any of his Predecessors, and a good Army. This Expedition was the occasion of the Ruin of this Great Man ; his Army being wasted, without any

considerable Advantage. *Cambden* attributes this to the Discontent of the Earl of *Essex*, Because Sir *Robert Cecil* was made *Master of the Wards*; which so nettled him, who desired to engross all his Mistress's Favours, that he left *Ireland* without leave, and returned to *England*, where he perished in his Discontent and Folly, in the year 1600.

The Queen
very much
oppressed by
the Infamy
and Villanies
of *Leicester*.

The Queen was in her own Temper a Person of an extraordinary Piety and Goodness, and without any exception; yet her Virtue was scarce able to secure her from being made infamous and unhappy by the Wickedness of the Earl of *Leicester*; she in the beginning of her Reign relying too much upon his Counsel, and as it were committing her self and her Kingdoms to his Industry and Care, to the neglect of the rest of the Nobility, who hated this Minister; Whilst the rest of the Peers withdrew from Danger, or stood as it were at a gaze in a stupid amazement, or servilely and impatiently complied with him: But *Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex*, and *Lord Chamberlain of the Household to the Queen, and President of the North*; a good-

—**a goodly Gentleman, of a Brave and Noble Nature; constant to his Friends and Servants, and the best Soldier the Queen then had, would not so tamely yield to Leicester;** there being in his Nature as well as Morals, a perfect Antipathy to the other; so that the Court for a long time stood divided between them, and they kept Spies upon each other's actions: The Queen did what she could to reconcile them, but it was utterly impossible; they were equal in Power and Estate, but so differing from each other in their Designs and Interests, and so unwilling on both sides to yield, that nothing but Death could determine this mortal Feud between them. This Noble Martial Earl died in the year 1583. He would often remonstrate, That Leicester's Covetousness and his other Vices were intolerable; that he had more Authority with the Queen, than all the rest of the Nobility; that he disposed of all the Rewards of Virtue and Industry, and all the rest were forced to truckle under, and serve him; that his Pride, Laziness, Luxury, and dissolute Manners were not to be born; and there was hardly a good man in the Nation, who

who was now in his heart convinced of the truth of all this, and did not wish to see this ill man humbled. The truth is, *Suffolk* was the honestest man, and the better Soldier; *Leicester* the more accomplished Courtier, and the deeper Politician, not for the general Good, but his own particular Profit.

The Char-
acter of Sir
William Cecil,
afterward
Lord Burleigh.

Sir *William Cecil* was a Person of great Learning, singular Judgment, and admirable Moderation and Prudence; unto which is justly attributed very much of the Prosperity which *England* for so many years enjoyed under this most auspicious Government. He was made Secretary of State the 5th of *Ew.* the 6th. 1551. His opposition to the Exclusion of Queen *Mary*, preserved him in her fair Esteem, tho he was of a differing Religion. In the first of Queen *Elizabeth* he was again call'd to the Council-Table. In the 3d. year of her Reign he was made Master of the Wards; and in the 14th. Anno 1572. he was made Lord Treasurer of *England*, upon the Death of *William Lord Paulet*, having the 29th. of February of the preceding year, obtained his Patent of Baron *Lord Burleigh*; for that

that he was the best Pece of this Miserious House, though his Father and Grandfather had enjoyed good Employments under Henry the 8th. In all the Contests between *Suffolk* and *Leicester*, this Great Man stood Neuter, and would engage in neither of the Parties; which made him the Head of a Third; and enabled him to serve himself of both the other, in whose ways he laid many rubs. Others were raised to balance Factions, he to support a Kingdom; as he was the best Statesman in that Age; so he was constantly on the watch for the Safety of his Mistress and her Kingdom. *Leicester* was the Cunningest man of the Age, but *Cecil* the Wildest, the Stoutest; and being without Guile or Pride, made it his busines to baffle all *Leicester's* Projects for the Marriage of the Queen, and the enslaving the Nation. He and *Suffolk* threw themselves once at the Feet of the Queen, and presuined to tell her, That all her good Subjects were concern'd to see the Danger and Dishonour Dudley had brought upon her; 'That he had transgressed all the bounds of a Subject, and very much exceeded the Crimes of *Northumberland* his Father;

? That

' That he had bragg'd of Marrying
 ' her : That this was a Dishonour to —
 ' her Majesty, and would bring Mis-
 ' chief on her Kingdoms ; for her Sub-
 ' jects would never endure the Sov-
 ' erainty of an unchaste and wicked
 ' man. And they advised her to put a
 ' stop to the Jealousies of her People,
 ' and to consult her own Honour, and
 ' the Safety of her Friends. They re-
 ' presented to her very warmly, the
 ' Dignity, Power, and Wealth of a Fo-
 ' reign Match ; and recommended to
 ' her *Charles Arch-Duke of Austria*, se-
 ' cond Son of *Ferdinand the Emperor*,
 ' and Brother of *Maximilian II.* as a
 ' Prince worthy of her Affections.
 These Discourses of these Great Men
 made a very deep Impression on the
 mind of the Queen ; and thereupon
 this Noble Earl was sent in the year
 1567, to carry the George to *Maximili-*
an II. Emperor of Germany ; and had
 Commission at the same time to treat
 of this Marriage ; which he endeavour-
 ed to effect with all his Power, though
 the Earl of *Leicester* opposed it. The
 Gallantry of his Behaviour, and the
 Splendor of his Equipage and Retinue,
 gain'd him a Familiarity from the Em-
 peror,

The Earl of
 Sufex sent
 Ambassador
 to the Em-
 peror.

peror, and a Reverence from the Arch-Duke, a Respect from the People, and his Mistress a kindness in that Court, which stood her in great stead against the Attempts of the King of Spain, and Pope of *Rome*; which perhaps was all that was designed by the Treaty; for it is said, the *Lord North*, who went with him, had Orders under hand to oppose all his Negotiations, as he did, and by a few fond Scruples disappointed and at last defeated the whole Design. It is supposed by some, this Obstruction was procured by *Leicester*, to secure his own Greatness. When this Great but Ill Man had struggled many years with the opposite Parties which arose one after another against him in the Court, and found himself sinking in the Favour of the Queen, by his private Marrying the Countess of *Essex*: during the Life of his first Wife; fearing the Divine Justice, the Change of the Times, and the great Numbers of men he had exasperated against him, he in the year 1585, obtained a Commission of the Queen for Levying 500 men, to be sent into *Holland* and *Zeland*; and was after that, by another, constituted Lieutenant and Captain-General of the whole

The Ruin of
Leicester.

whole Army designed for the Service of the United Provinces, against the Spaniard, whether he went the same year; he had no good Success in this Expedition; and the next year the Hollanders made loud and dreadful Complaints against him, for mis-spending their Money, and ill-managing their Affairs; whereupon he was re-called; and the Complaints following him hither, he told the Queen, That she having sent him thither with Honour, (he hoped) she would not receive him back with Disgrace; and that whom she had raised from the Dust, she would not bury alive. Thereupon he left the Court, and the 4th. of September, 1588. he died at Corsham Park in Oxfordshire. Thus died this Favourite, having in one year in the Wars lost all that Reputation and Favour he had acquired in so many years in the Court.

His Death and Dishonour.
1588.

Peregrine Lord Willoughby, a Noble Gentleman, a good Soldier, and a Virtuous Man, who was one of the Commanders under the Earl of Leicester, succeeded him as General of the English Forces in the Netherlands. He had more Experience, more Courage, and also more

more Success than his Predecessor ; so
— that he was styled the Queen's first Sword-
man, and a great Master of the Military
Art, by the Historians of those times :
He did the States of Holland great Ser-
vice, by his brave Defence of *Bergen op
Zoom*, against the Prince of Parma, in
the year 1588 : But for all that, he had
some of the Fate of his Predecessor,
which fell to his lot, for he was com-
plained of by the *Hollanders*, as well,
tho' not so justly as *Leicester* ; but his In-
nocence clear'd him. In the year 1589,
he was sent General of 4000 men, in
aid of the King of Navarre, into
France ; and he died in the year
1601.

The Queen in all the time of her
Reign, took care to Establish her Go-
vernment by the Council, Virtue, and
Fidelity of many Wise and Learned
Men, who spent their whole time in
promoting the Publick Welfare and
Peace of her Kingdoms. Sir *Francis
Walsingham*, Secretary of State, was
one of the greatest of these, and an
Ornament to her Court and Council.
He so sedulously attended the execution
of the Office committed to him, and
took

The Char-
acter of Sir
*Francis Wat-
singham*.

The Character of

took his Measures for the Safety of her Person and Kingdoms, and the Security of the Protestant Religion, with that Prudence and Caution, that it was scarce possible any thing should happen, which his Care and Industry had not foreseen, or his Spies discovered to him before-hand. His Maxim was, *Knowledge is never too dear*; and accordingly he spent his whole Income and Time in her Service, and died in the year 1590, so poor, that the Queen gave his Daughter her Portion. The Queen has been heard to say, *That Diligence and Sagacity exceeded her Expectation.*

Burleigh made Lord Treasurer for his Virtue.

The Lord Burleigh was made *Lord Treasurer of England* by her, because he was the *Cato* of his Time; a man well versed in the Affairs of the Treasury, and a Provident and Careful Manager of them: He would insinuate to the Queen, That the Treasury was not her own Money, but committed to her Care for the Safety of her People; and therefore it was not to be spent in useless ways, or in satisfying the Avarice and Knavery of her Ministers, but for the Benefit and Welfare of the State; and

and that the best thing which could possibly be done by any person, was to do that which tended to the good of his Countrey.

Mary, the Daughter of *James V.* King of *Scotland*, was a young Lady of great Beauty; and by the Arts of her Mother, who was a *French* Lady, and descended of the House of *Lorain*, she was perswaded to marry *Francis* the Eldest Son of *Henry II.* then King of *France*, by which he obtained the Title of King of *Scotland* in her Right. After *Mary Queen of England* was dead, the House of *Guise* in *France* perswaded this Prince and his Lady to assume and use the Royal Arms of *England*, because she was of the Royal Family; and accordingly it was Engraven on all their Plate, and put upon all their other Furniture, and they used it in their Seals, to the great Injury and Exasperation of *Queen Elizabeth*: She suffered also her self to be stiled Queen of *England*, which highly incensed the *English* Nation against her and the *French* Court; it being thought the greatest Contempt that could possibly be offered to us, to assume that Title at a time

H when

when France was engaged in a War with Spain: But however, the Civil—War which soon after broke out in France, and lasted many years, the defeating their Designs in Scotland, the Deaths of Henry II. and Francis II. and all other the Calamities that followed this foolish Attempt, sufficiently revenged the Injury offered to the Queen and the English Nation.

The Char-
acter of Sir N.
Throgmorton.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was an Indulgentious, Wise, and an Active Statesman, but apt to be heat, and of a fiery Temper: He was at that time the English Leiger Ambassador in the Court of France, and was highly exasperated to see this Affront put upon his Mistress, and he made sharp and loud Complaints of it to the Council of France: After a tedious Debate, and many Hearings, he at last by the means of Montmorency, Constable of France, obtained an Order or Promise, That the Queen of the Scots should no more use the Royal Arms of England, nor the Title of Queen of England or Ireland, during the Life of Queen Elizabeth, or of any Children born of her. The Envy and Hatred which was occasioned by this imprudent

dent Contest between these two great Ladies, who were equal in Authority and Beauty, had an ill effect upon them in all the after-parts of their Lives, and at last ended in the violent Death of Mary Queen of the Scots.

The French seemed they to desire no thing more than a pretence for a War ^{The French} desirous of a with England: Throughmorton the Ambassadour was made the subject of their Court-Jesters and Comedians Riddery; one of his Servants was, contrary to the Laws of Nations, taken violently and unjustly from him, and sent to the Gallies by the Brother of the Duke of Guise; the English which Traded in France, were without any provocation or complaint made of them to their own Queen, most unjustly Imprison'd, and otherwise exposed to Contempt and Blows: The Ambassadour bore all things with an invincible Resolution, and resolved, whatever he suffered, not to be frightened from his Post, but to watch the first opportunity to revenge the Contempt was offered to his Character, and their violations of the Laws of Nations: He complained openly and freely to the Council of France, of the

Affronts offered to his Mistress, of their Violence, Injuries, and Rapins committed upon her Subjects: And as for the Duke of *Guise*, he considered him only as a Subject of *France*, and said many things of him with the utmost Freedom and Sharpness; and the Duke of *Guise* answered him with some vehemence: The Council on the other hand laid all the blame on the common people of *France*, and offered a specious but untrue Excuse for what had been done. The Ambassador thereupon calling God and man to bear witness how much they had violated the Law of Nations, and the Liberty of an Ambassador, which was Sacred by the Laws of God and man, returned to his House; and from thenceforward made it his business to imbroil *France*; he exasperated by his Arts *Anthony King of Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde* his Brother, *Montmorancy*, and the rest of the Peors of that Kingdom, till he made all *France* the Scene of a Civil War, and filled it with inexpressible Calamities, which ended in the utter Ruin of the exorbitant Power and Greatness of the House of *Guise*. Tho this Great man did all this; yet upon his return into *England*

Brogmerton
kindles the
Civil Wars
in *France*.

land he did not meet with a Recompence proportionable to his Integrity, Courage, and Industry; because the Lord Burleigh was his Enemy, and sought by all means to curb and conquer this lively, free, and haughty Spirit, which too often appeared against him.

The French having obtained a Matri-
monial Right to the Crown of Scotland, thought it afforded them a fair
pretence, and an happy introduction
into the Island, and designed to employ
these Advantages for the Conquest of
England also. They thereupon taking
hold of the Disorders their own Cruel-
ty and Perfidy had caused in Scotland,
raised a Potent Army under the Com-
mand of the Count de Martigues, and
Monsieur Lz Brosse, two Expert Com-
manders, and sent them into Scotland:
These French Gentlemen did all that
was possible to Establish the Faction
that favoured France in Scotland; they
wasted and destroyed all that durst op-
pose them; and threatned the intire
Destruction of all that any way oppo-
sed their designs: Their Violence and
Cruelty in the mean time highly exas-
The French
design to im-
prove their
Interest in
Scotland, to
the Ruin of
England.

perated the common people of that Kingdom, and they began to whisper, That the Destruction of all the Scotch Nobility, and the Extirpation of their Government, was intended : Thereupon the Scots began in good earnest to think how they might preserve themselves, and defend their Lands and Territories from the Incursions and Depredations of the French. The French, on the other side, meeting with Repulses, and seeing the whole Nation arm against them, when they expected the most profound Submission, retired to Leith, which they had then Fortified for their security, whither the Scotch Nobility followed them ; and there were frequent but small Skirmishes between them and the French : But however, still the storm fell heaviest on that part of the Scots which had embraced the Reformation, (for that was made the pretence for sending over these French Forces) ; and they on the contrary saw, that during the Marriage of their Queen with Francis II. King of France, there was no hopes of Security against the Pride and Cruelty of their new Masters, and that they were not able to defend themselves, without Assistance from

The Scotch complain, and arm against them.

The French retire to Leith.

The Scots send into England for assistance.

from abroad. Whereupon they sent their Agents with Letters to Queen Elizabeth, laying before her Majesty the miserable Estate they were reduced to, and imploring her Protection and Assistance for the prevention of their Ruin. The Queen being before exasperated by the ill usages she had received from the Guises, and compassionating the Dangers of Scotland; foreseeing also at the same time the great and almost unavoidable danger which was approaching her own Kingdom, if the French were suffered by force or fraud to subdue that part of the Scots which were of the Protestant Religion; she courageously and prudently resolyed to undertake the Defence and Protection of this Nation; and broke with the French, whose Friendship is at all times doubtful and uncertain. Thereupon she sent Mr. William Winter, the Master of her Naval Cannon, with a Fleet into the Firth of Edinburgh, in the year 1560; which took the Island of *Keth* from the French, and expelled their Garrison, and relieved the Scots that were then in Arms. She made also the Duke of Norfolk, a Peer of good Experience in Warlike Affairs, President of the North. At

A Fleet sent
into Scotland.

And an Army, which
besieged Leith.

the same time she sent the Lord Grey of *WILTON*, who had been very unsuccessful in the Defence of *GUINES*, a Fortress belonging to *Calais*, in her Sister's Reign, with an Army by Land into *Scotland*. He entred *Scotland* with this Army, which consisted in Six Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse, in a peaceable and civil manner treating the Countries through which he passed, as a Friend and an Ally that came to help them; and sat down before *Leith*, a Sea-Port which was then Garrison'd by the *French* *Martigues*, who was a young and a fiery Gentleman, being spurr'd on by the over-warm desires of Glory, would needs undertake with Twelve Companies of Foot, to beat the *English* Army, upon their first approach, from the Hills on which they were posted, tho the *French* were to charge up the Hill; where-upon there was presently a Sharp and bloody Fight for that Ground; the *French* for a great while sustained with much Bravery the Charge of the *English* Army on their Front; but the Scotch Horse Wheeling about, and Charging them on the flank too, they were at last beaten with great Loss from their ground,

ground, and forced into the Town of Leith; and very few of them had escaped, if the English Horse had done their part, as well as the Scotch did theirs. The French however, were not quiet, tho thus beaten; but making a Sally after this, the 15th. of April, they surprized the Advanced Guards, and cut them off, broke into the Lines, and Nailed up Three of the English Cannons, and took Maurice Berkley, one of the Commanders, Prisoner: But Robert Crofts, and Cuthbert Vaghan, two other English Officers, fell on the French who pursued their point too far, and forced them back into the Town. In this Sally, Arthur the Eldest Son of the Lord Grey, who then commanded in the Trenches, was wounded in the Shoulder by a Musket-Bullet, whilst he valiantly opposed the French. This Sally exasperated the English, and they observing that their Batteries had not any considerable effect on the Walls, by reason of their distance, they came nearer to the Town, and erected new Batteries. There was nothing wanting in the Town which was needful to enable the Garrison to make a stout Defence; the Walls and Bastions were full of mea-

ex-

excellently Armed, and they played furiously on the English, wounding some, and killing others, and both by day and by night making furious Sallies besides; which the English bore with so much Patience and Bravery, that they surmounted all these difficulties. The last day of April a Fire happened in the Town, which burned all that night; and the English by turning their Canoe upon those parts that were burning, terrified the Inhabitants, and spread the Fire; and the same night they passed the Dike, and measured the heighth of the Walls: The French within the Town, were no less industrious than the English were without, and at last they had the good fortune to put out the Fire, and to prevent the English from turning the Terror of it to the best advantage. After this the English burnt the Water-Mills upon the River Leith, which here falls into the Firth of Edinburgh, and gives name to the Town; and what they could not burn, they demolished: The 5th of May the English storm'd the Town, with the Assistance of the Scots, under the Command of one Visser; the French, tho' much taxified with the bold approaches of the English,

English; yet manfully defended the Walls; and the Ladders proving too short, and the Waters being restrained by the Garrison, were also found deeper than was expected, to their great damage; so that 160 of the English were slain, and nothing gained. The whole blame of this Misfortune was cast upon Crofts, who stood stone still in the place he was appointed to act in, and neither diverted the Enemy, or sent any Assistance to them that were engaged; and thereupon he was accused to the Queen by the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Grey, for which he afterwards being called before the Council, was deprived of the Government of Berwick. The Duke of Norfolk in the mean time took care to revive the drooping Spirits of the English, by a fresh Supply of 2000 men, which he soon after sent to reinforce the Camp, and to curb the Insolence of the French, which rose higher upon this Misfortune of the Siegers, so that they made more frequent Sallies after it than they had done before. At the same time the Duke sent a Letter to the Lord Grey, to comfort the Army for the late Misfortune, and to assure him, that within a short time

time he would follow with all the Forces he had under his Command. This Recruit blew off the Memory of their Loss, and kindled in the minds of the Besiegers a strong desire to revenge the Baffle they had received, and recover their former Reputation : By this time the Besieged had tried all the ways their prudence could suggest, to raise the Siege without any success, and were now as much oppressed by *Famine* within, as by the Enemy without ; and having no hopes of any Relief, they at last began, with the consent of the *French King*, to Capitulate with the Queen, (for he scorned to Treat with the Scots who were his Subjects) ; who to that end sent Sir *William Cecil*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, to Edinburgh. The *Lord James*, a Scotch Peer, proposed some things on the behalf of the Scots in this Treaty, which Sir *William Cecil* told him, did not become Subjects to ask, or Princes to grant : And the *French* on the other side offered the Queen, that if she would withdraw her Forces out of *Scotland*, he would restore *Calais* to the *English* ; to which she generously replied, She did not value that *Fisher-Town* so much, as to hazard for it the State of *Britain* ;

Britain; so even did she hold the Balance between that King and his Subjects, suffering neither of them to wrong the other: At last it was agreed, That the French should within Twenty days depart out of Scotland, and the Fortifications of Leith and Dunbar should be slighted: The 16th. of July the French accordingly embarked on the English Fleet for France; and the same day the Lord Grey began his March with the English Army for England, where he was rewarded for this Service with the Government of Berwick, which he did not long enjoy, for he died the 14th of December, 1562. This War, saith Mr. Cambden, preserved all Britain from Ruin, restored the Scots to their Ancient Liberty, and settled the Peace, and enlarged the Reputation of the English Nation; so that from thenceforward during all her happy Reign, she had no reason to apprehend any danger from Scotland, the Protestants of that Nation esteeming the Queen their Patroness and Deliverer; and the English acknowledging she had laid a sure foundation for their future Security. Thus she delivered Scotland from those Foreigners who designed by Violence and Force

Force to suppress not only the Protestant Religion, but their Civil Rights and Liberties also, and to bring upon that Free Nation an intolerable French Slavery. Of this the Scots were then so extremely sensible, (saith my Author, who was of that Nation) That they being delivered by her means from Foreign Servitude, they thereupon subscribed to a League to maintain the Protestant Religion, and to use the English Worship and Rites.

The first Civil War in France.

After this a Civil War arose in France, and the Queen sent Supplies under the Earl of Warwick, in 1562. to the Prince of Conde, the Count de Robe and Coligny, the Defenders of the Protestant Religion, and of the Liberties of that Kingdom; To these Forces, when the Protestants themselves opposed them, she sent afterwards Additional Forces and great Sums of Money: At this time the French Protestants put Havre de Grace into her hands as a Cautionary Town, and it was Garrison'd with English Soldiers; but so soon as their Fear of the Popish Party was a little abated by a Peace granted to them, which yet was

of

of no duration, they joined with their Popish Countrymen to drive out their Benefactors, and with equal Violence endeavoured to reduce the Town under the Crown of France again: The Earl of Warwick seeing his men consumed by a War without, and a Plague within the Town, and no Relief to be expected in due time, he thereupon began a Treaty with the Enemy, and the 28th. of July, 1563. the Articles of Surrender were signed; the next day there came a Fleet of 60 Sail of English Ships into the Haven, on which the Garrison was Transported into England: And the Protestants of France had the chief hand in the driving them out, as all sides acknowledge.

The Death of Francis II. King of France, the 5th. of December, 1560. when he had Reigned but Seventeen Months, put an end to all the French Ambitions Designs of Conquering England, and Reducing Scotland, and to the Fears of both these Kingdoms on that score: Mary Queen of Scotland being thus deprived of her Beloved Husband, soon grew weary of that Kingdom, and getting a small Number of

Francis II.
King of France.

of Ships together for that purpose, she went on board at *Calais*, the 14th of *August*, and she landed at *Leith* the 20th of the same month in the year 1561, being attended by many of the Nobility, and some great Ladies of both the *French* and *Scots* Nation. Not long after the Queen of *England* having opposed this Princess's designs of Marrying *Charles Archduke of Austria*, and rather recommending to her choice the Lord *James Darnley*, Eldest Son to the Earl of *Lenox*, and the next Heir after her of the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*; so that this Match would undoubtedly secure her Title to *England* too, after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; whereupon she married him at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1565; and the next year after, *James* their only Son was born, to the great Joy of both the Nations; for he was then thought one of the Pillars of *Christendom*, the Ornament of his Native Countrey and Family; and all men presaged, That he would one day become the King of *Great Britain*, as it came afterwards to pass, by the wonderful good Providence of God.

Mary Queen
of the Scots
Marrieth.

James I bor.

This

This Marriage was attended with The begin-
ning of the
a Catastrophe and Tragick Event, which Misfortunes
is grievous to the thoughts, and scarce of Mary Qu.
possible to be enough lamented; *Mary* of Scotland.

Stewart, the Relict of Francis II. King
of France, and the Immediate Heiress,
and Lawful Queen of Scotland, and the
Presumptive Heir of the Kingdoms of
England and Ireland, the Mother of
James VI. soon after became a Lamen-
table Example of the Unsteadiness of
Human Affairs. The Lord *Darnley*
her Husband, having out of Jealousie
ordered the Murther of one *David*
Rixio, the Queen's Secretary, was af-
terwards himself Poisoned first, and
then Murdered at *Edinburgh*, in the
year 1567: The effect of which was,
the Depositing the Queen her self, (who
was suspected to have an hand in it),
and the Imprisoning her in a Castle in
the Lake of *Locklewin*, where she was
forced to subscribe a *Resignation of the*
Crown and Government of Scotland, in
the year 1568. The Queen by the
Providence of God escaped afterwards
out of this Restraint the 2d. of *May*,
and raised some Forces to recover her
Crown again, which were intirely rout-
ed and dispersed by the Forces of the

The Character of

Her Imprisonment at
Carlisle.

Regent of Scotland: So that having nothing more to trust to in that Kingdom, she took shipping with intention to pass into France; but being by stress of Weather, or the Treachery of those that carried her, brought into England, she was landed at *Warrington* in *Cumberland* the 17th. of the same Month, and not long after committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Carlise*; so that being driven from her Native Countrey by her own Subjects, she found an unceasie and cruel Restraint, where she expected a Refuge and a Sanctuary: The Laws of Hospitality, and that Kindnes which Nature teacheth all men to use towards those that are of the same Lineage and Blood, not being able to protect her against the Jealousie of a Rival Queen. When *Mary Queen of the Scots* saw her self reduced to this Calamitous Condition, forsaken of all her Subjects and Servants, and forced to flee in one day about Sixty Miles, and then not thinking her self secure till passing to Sea, she was thrown upon the English shore; She wrote a Letter to the Queen of *England*, before she left *Scotland*, and sent it by one *Beton*, and she gave him a Diamond which the Queen had sent her

her before this as a Pledge of her Friendship; she also ordered him to tell the Queen, That she intended to leave *Scotland*, and to come into *England*; and did most earnestly beseech her to send her such Help and Assistance as was necessary; in case the *Scots* should persist in the same Methods of Oppression. Queen *Elizabeth* assured this Gentleman, That she would shew the Queen of *Scots* all that Affection that she could possibly expect from a Sister. Before this Gentleman could get back again, she left *Scotland*, contrary to the Advice of all her Friends, and came into *England*, and as soon as she was on shore she sent the Queen a Second Letter in *French*, in the Conclusion of which she tells the Queen of *England*, That she was come into her Kingdom with The Queen an entire Reliance upon her Majesties most of *Scots* Letter unquestionable good affections towards her, not doubting but her Majesty would assist her, and that by her Example and Encouragement others would be won over to her. I do most earnestly therefore (said she) beseech you, That I may presently be admitted to come to you, because I am now in great Distress, as I will more at large inform you, when you shall please so far to

have Compassion on me. God grant your Majesty a long and an happy Life, and me that Patience and Consolation which I hope to obtain from him by your seasonable Assistance. Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Francis Knolles and some others to the Queen of the Scots, to comfort her, and promised her all that Protection and Assistance which the Equity of her Cause would allow, but she would not suffer her to come to her. And she ordered her to be removed to Carlisle, which was a place of greater Safety to her, than that she was at present in, where the Scots might perhaps surprize her: Upon this the Queen of the Scots wrote a Third Letter to the Queen, and sent it by the Lord Herris, desiring that she might be suffered to come before her Majesty, to propose the Injuries which had been done to her by her Subjects, and to answer the accusations they did pretend to bring against her. That it was most equitable and just, that Queen Elizabeth should admit her who was her Nearest Kinswoman, and was now an Exile, into her presence, and hear what she had to say for herself, and restore her to her Kingdom, which she had most unjustly been deprived of, by those who had been most justly
ba-

The Third
Letter.

banished for their Treasons against her, and were Pardoned and Restored upon your Majesty's Intercession with me, to my own Ruin, as now it plainly appeareth, (said she) if your Majesty dth not prevent it. Wherefore I once more Conjure your Majesty either to Admit me into your Presence, and to Assist me, or otherwise to suffer me forthwith to go out of England to seek help elsewhere, and that you would not detain me as a Captive and a Prisoner any longer in the Castle of Carlisle, because I came freely into England, trusting in your many kind Letters, Messages, and the Pledges of an Honourable Reception, This Letter wrought very much upon the heart of the Queen, and she could not but pity the desolate and deplorable Estate of so near a Relation, who being by Force of Arms taken by her own Subjects, had been thrust from a Throne into a Prison, brought into the utmost danger of her Life, Condemned without being heard, and was deprived of a Kingdom, and had now fled to her out of a Confidence of her Assistance, and was now at last willing and desirous that the Queen of England should be her Judge, and when she had heard both her and her Subjects, pronounce

*The Character of
what Sentence she thought fit and
just.*

The deplora-
ble state of
the Princes of
the earth.

Princes are certainly the most unhappy part of Mankind, because they are frequently reduced to those straits, that they can scarce tell which way to turn them; Sin or Misery, Ruin or Dishonour, surround and encompass them, so that there is no possibility of avoiding both at once. Had Queen Elizabeth dismissed the Queen of Scots, she would without doubt have found enough who would have entertained her as an Instrument and Pretence to ruin

The Difficul- both *England* and *Scotland* too. If she ties attending detained her in *England*, it was feared the keeping or dismissing the that her Wheedling Humour, Youth, Queen of the and Beauty, and her stout Attachment *Scots.*

to the Popish Religion, would draw in many of the *English* to take her part, as long as she was considered as the next Heir of the Crown, after the Queen then Reigning; and this would very much endanger the Peace of *England*: Foreign Ambassadors would have Orders from their Masters, (when her Case was once known) to espouse her Interest, and promote her Affairs; and a part of the *Scots* would certainly endeavour

deavour to restore her, and suppress the Opposite Party, when they had so fair a Prospect of making their own Fortunes into the bargain. The Faith of those that were trusted with the keeping this Precious Depositum, was not to be relied on, and if she should happen to dye by a Natural Death, the Queen must expect to be defamed and slandered as the Murderer of her. So that the Queen saw that every day new and unforeseen Difficulties grew upon her. If she were suffered to go into France, it was feared the House of Guise which was related to her by her Mother, might renew their old Pretences in her Right to England, and again set on foot her former Claim of this Throne, and might win many over to assist her, either on the score of her Religion, or the Probability of her Right, or lastly, merely out of a mad desire of changing the present Government, which is never so easie or sweet as to please all. That the parting with her would put an end to the League and Friendship between England and Scotland, which was then considered as a thing of the greatest use that could possibly be conceived to England; and it was to be feared if by her means

the Popish part of *Scotland* prevailed against the Protestant, the League with *France* would be renewed ; and this would be so much the more mischievous to *England* now, because heretofore we had the Friendship of the House of *Burgundy*, to balance that of *Scotland* ; but the Estates of that Family being all at this time united in the Person of *Philip II. King of Spain*, *England* had not one Ally near it which could be relied on, but the *Scots* : If she were resettle^d in *Scotland*, it was to be feared that those of the *English* Faction would be ruined, and those of the *French* would be alone intrusted with all the Power : The young Prince would be exposed to Dangers ; the Religion which was now well Established there, would be changed ; the *French* and other Foreigners would be invited thither and entertained ; and *Ireland* would be more infested by the *Highland-Scots*, than heretofore, and Queen *Mary* her self would be in danger of losing her Life amongst her own Subjects. Hereupon the far greatest part of the Council of *England* were of an Opinion, That *she* ought to be detained here as a Prisoner of War, till *she* had given sufficient satisfaction for her assuming

A Resolution
taken to de-
tain her as a
Prisoner of
War.

suming the Title of the Crown of England; and answered for the Death of the Lord Darnly, who was a Subject of England. For this, the Countess of Lenox had furnished them with a Pretence, by her coming to the Queen, and with Tears in her eyes demanding Justice in her own and her Husbands name; and had also besought the Queen, That Mary Queen of the Scots might be Arraigned for the Death of her Son. To whom the Queen had calmly and wisely answered, That the Countess ought not to bring so grievous an Accusation, or charge so black a Crime as this was, upon a Princess so nearly related to the Crown; which yet could not be proved by certain Evidence. That the times were unjust and wicked, and Malice was blinded with Prejudice, and made no scruple to charge the most Innocent with horrid Crimes: That, however, there was an All-seeing Justice which attended at the Throne of God, which was the best Avenger of all secret Villanies.

It will appear by all this what Difficulties there were on all hands in this great Affair; and that the Queen was not acted only by a spirit of Jealousie and Revenge. The Queen of England not acted by a spirit of Jealousie and Revenge.

and Revenge for what was past, or out of a Personal and Selfish Humour oppressed this Banished Queen, without considering all things with great application of mind. The Lord Harris, who attended the Court for the Queen of Scots, was not idle in the mean time, but earnestly solicited Queen Elizabeth, *That she would not rashly believe any Accusation which should be brought against a Sovereign Queen; till she had been heard; and that the Meeting of the States of Scotland should not be precipitated by the Earl of Murray, the Prince Regent, to the Prejudice of the Deposed Queen, and the Ruin of all her Loyal and Good Subjects.* The Queen of England accordingly did interpose her Authority with Murray, as to the latter of these; but the Regent went on for all that, Assembled the States of Scotland, and attained several of those that had taken Arms for the Queen, and seized their Estates and Houses: The Queen of England being highly incensed upon this, sent Sir Walter Mildmay to the Regent, to tell him from her, *'That she could not sit still and see the Sacred Power of Princes be brought into Contempt among their Subjects, and be trodden*

*Mildmay sent
into Scotland
to threaten
the Regent.*

' un-

' under foot at the Will and Pleasure of
' Factious men. That altho they had
' forgot all that Duty and Respect
' which they owed to their Queen; yet
' she for her part could not forger the
' Affection and Compassion her Piety
' obliged her to shew to a Sister and a
' Neighbour Queen: That therefore
' Murray should either come to her him-
' self, or send some able men who might
' answer the Complaints of the Queen
' of Scots against the Regent and his
' Partakers; and shew the Causes for
' which they had *Abdicated* (Deposed)
' the Queen; which if they did not
' forthwith do, she would dismiss the
' Queen of Scots, and lend her all her
' Forces, in order to the resettling her
' in her Kingdom. And at the same
' time she admonished them not to sell
' the Queen's Jewels and Wardrobe,
' tho the States had given him leave to
' do it.

The Earl of *Murray* accordingly, Murray upon
and some other of the Nobility came Q. Elizabeth's
into *England*, and the case of the Queen threats comes
of Scots was heard at *York* by several
of the Lords of the *English Council*,
but could be brought to no Issue by rea-
son

son of the cross Interests, and the mutual Fears on all sides : Tho the Queen of *England* to the last declared, That *she detested the Insolence of the Scots in her soul, who had presumed to Abdicate their Queen.* But then, when the Duke of *Norfolk* thought it reasonable that *Murray* should be stayed in *England*, and be prosecuted for the Death of the Lord *Darnley*, which the *Queen of Scots* said she would prove against him ; ‘ tho
‘ this was approved by the Earls of *A-sunderland, Suffex, Leicester, and Clinton,*
‘ afterwards Earl of *Lincoln*, yet the
‘ *Queen* was very angry at the Motion,
‘ and openly said, *The Queen of Scots*
‘ *would never want an Advocate as long*
‘ *as the Duke of Norfolk lived.* So that upon the whole, it is strongly probable she durst not dismiss or restore the *Queen of Scots*, for fear it should involve both *England* and *Scotland* in Wars and Calamities which would have very much endangered the utter Ruin of both the Nations ; but then she was desirous as much as was possible, to keep the Example from spreading, to the Damage of other Princes, and the Endangering other States in other Circumstances, as much as it tended now to their

Q. Elizabeth
durst not re-
store the Qu.
of the Scots
to her
Throne.

their Preservation. Many have endeavoured to blacken this Act of the Queen's, and others to defend and excuse it; but for my part, I think the Character God gave of King *David*, may be applied to Queen *Elizabeth* here; *David did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from any thing that he commanded him, all the days of his life; save only in the matter of Uriah the 'Hittite.* And what if upon the whole, the Queen of the *Scots* is to be excepted only in our Instance?

This Reflection will appear so much the more reasonable, if we take into Consideration her Death too. The Queen of *Scots* had been now a Prisoner in *England* almost XVIII. Years, when the Queen of *England* was prevailed upon by the earnest Solicitation of many of the Peers and Commons of *England*, who fell down upon their Knees, humbly requesting her Majesty (as *Melvil* expresseth it) to have Compassion upon their unsure Estate, albeit she should slight her own: Alledging, That her Life was in hazard by the Practices of the Queen of *Scotland*, and their Lives and Fortunes also. Now as it was possible

The Queen
prevailed up-
on to put the
Queen of Scots
upon her
Trial.

sible for the *English* to have kept all those ill men from her, which might put the Queen of *Scotland* upon such Practices, so it was utterly unreasonable that Queen *Elizabeth* should expect the Queen of *Scots* would desist from endeavouring by all the ways that were possible, to recover her Liberty and her Kingdom, tho with the Death of her Oppressor. But by this time the King of *Scotland* her Son was become a man, and he would have secured the Peace and Possession of that Kingdom; and the Queen of *Scots* was now XLIV. Years of Age, and so not so likely if she had escaped, to have been Courted, or to have wrought her any great Mischief in the world, as she might have done in her Younger years; besides, by this time the States of *Holland* had pretty well establishtd themselves to balance the *Spaniards*; but then the House of *Guise* was then in its greatest Pride, and the King of *Spain* was preparing his *Invincible Armado*, which came two years after; and these two may seem to have been the real Motives to it: But whatever they were, the thing cannot be justified, neither ought it; and Queen *Elizabeth* seems to own as much, by her ruining

ruining Duxfor the Secretary, to conceal her own fault, tho in truth it made it much worse.

When the Queen of Scots was brought before the Lords that were to Try her for her Life, she declined their Jurisdiction (as well she might) and alledged she was a Sovereign Queen; to which the Chancellor, the Lord Hatt^{on}'s wheedling Speech.
eon replied, You are accused, but not condemned: You say you are a Queen, be it so; if you are innocent, you wrong your Reputation in avoiding Tryal: You protest your self Innocent; the Queen feareth the contrary, not without grief and shame: To examine your Innocence are these Honourable, Prudent, and upright Commissioners sent: Glad will they be with all their hearts, if they may return and report you guiltless; believe me, the Queen her self will be much affecked with Joy, who affirmed to me at my coming from her, That never any thing befel her more grievous to her, than that you were Charged with such a Crime: Wherefore say while the boottles Privilege of a Royal Dignity, which here can be of no use to you; appear in Judgment, and shew your Innocence; left by avoiding Tryal you

*you draw upon your self suspicion, and lay
upon your Reputation an Eternal Blot and
Aspersion.*

The Speech
censured.

This short Speech is highly commended for the Ingenuity and Softness of it ; but it was a detestable piece of Wickednes to wheedle a poor Captive Queen, who was ignorant of the Laws of Nations, and destitute of all Advice and Counsel, out of her Reputation, Majesty, Innocence, and Life ; and under the false Pretences of the Queen's Tenderness for her , her Judges Uprightness, and her own alledg'd Innocence, to bring her by a Pretended Shew of Justice, to a Scaffold as a Subject, who was an Equal, an Enemy, and a Sovereign. The Queen of Scots Innocence did not consist in her having never contrived any thing against Queen Elizabeth, but in her Right to contrive all that was possible, to recover her Liberty and her Kingdom ; and therefore when they had proved her in their Notion Guilty , they had done nothing ; she was no Subject to Queen Elizabeth, and so ought her no Allegiance, and consequently could commit no Treason against her ; and the Queen of England ought

ought to have set her at Liberty, and commanded her out of her Kingdom, before she could justly treat her as an Enemy. So that this was all of it Pretence, Injustice, and Oppression ; and had *Nathan* the Prophet been sent to the Queen of *England*, he would certainly have told her as he did *David*, *Thou hast slain her with the sword of the children of Ammon*. And the Complaint that she made to the Lord *Hatton*, and all that she did after to excuse her self, shew that she had a reluctance within, and acted against the Dictates of her own Conscience ; so that this can be no Example, for the future, to any Prince or Subject, but ought to be looked upon as the Dishonour and Shame of that otherwise most Excellent Princess,

Yet after all, the Queen is not to be charged with the whole Guilt of this Royal and Innocent Blood ; but those Foreign Princes, and the Priests and Jesuits are justly chargable with the greatest part of the blame, because when they saw the Queen of Scots in so much danger of her Life, they would never suffer her to be quiet, but were eternal-
ces, and the
Popish Priests
guilty of the
Murther of
the Q. of the
Scots.

The Character of

ly Plotting and Contriving, Bribing and Conspiring, how to murder Queen Elizabeth, and to set up the Queen of Scots in her stead, to restore their Beloved Popery here in England: To demonstrate the Truth of this Assertion, I must in the next place give an account of the Troubles and Conspiracies of the Popish Party against this Prince, which to the shame of their Religion were all began and carried on under the pretence of a mighty Zeal for their Faith, and in Obedience to its Principles. *Pius V.* Excommunicates the Queen and absolves all her Subjects.

Pius V. Excommunicates the Queen and absolves all her Subjects.

, in the year 1570, thought it became his Piety, and would be an excellent Argument of his deserving that name, to Arm all the Queen's Subjects against God, and their Prince and Country, and foolishly presumed the Avenger of Perjury would permit him to free them from the obligations of their Natural and sworn Allegiance to their Lawful Sovereign and his Vicegerent: Thereupon he cast out his *B U L L*, to declare the Queen an Heretic, and that she had forfeited all her Right to Reign and Govern: And he excited all the Neighbour Catholick Princes to take Arms against her, and put this Bill in Execution. And one Dr. Morton,

the

the Pope's Legate à Latere here, then lay lurking amongst the Papists in the North of England, and with impatience expected the Roaring of this Bull, as the Signal to Treason and Rebellion; and in the mean time made it his business to excite their Madness and Rage, and inflame their Hatred by vain hopes and promises, that so he might engage them in a miserable destructive War.

The Popish Subjects of England, being Thereupon thus debauched from their Allegiance, followed Re-
by the Pope's Authority and Approbation, bellions and Insurrections there presently followed a great many in England.

Seditions and Insurrections, and some of the Nobility and Gentry of that Persuasion, in compliance with their Religion, began to be very ill affected towards their Prince. Thus Religion became a Pretence for, and a Promoter of Rebellion and Treason. The first of the Nobility that entered into Action against the Queen, was Thomas Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, who in the year 1569, had been privy to the Intended Marriage of Mary Queen of the Scots, with Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; and being discovered thereupon, he submitted himself to the Earl of Sussex, at that time President of the North; yet

The E. of
Northumber-
Land leads the
way.

And is followed by the
E. of Westmorland.

after this he joined with *Charles Nevil, Earl of Westmorland*, and great Multitudes of people began to resort to them, and they began to be suspected again by the Government as designing some Mischief. The *President of the North* sent for them both at one time, and freely told them what he had heard, and they both stoutly disclaimed the having a Conspiracy in hand against the Queen, and promised to adventure their Lives very zealously against any Traytor whatsoever, that should take Arms against their Sovereign: Yet after all, *Piercy* began to raise what Forces he could in the year 1569, which being discovered to the Queen, she sent her Letters to them, requiring them to come both to Court. The *Earl of Northumberland* was so easie a man, and so far from that fiery Activity that is requisite in the Head of a Faction, that upon the receipt and reading of the Queen's Letter, he was almost resolved to go to Court, and cast himself at the Queen's Feet, as in all probability he had done, if his Servants and Followers who were more bent upon Mischief than he, had not allarm'd him in the dead of the night, and frightened him into a Rebellion

on

on by their crafty arts ; persuading him at the sametime, *That all the Catholicks in England were ready prepared to assert that Religion ; and that if they neglected it any longer, Foreign Princes would take this work in hand, to the great Damage of the Nation.* Whereupon he fled to Branspeth in the Bishoprick of Durham, to the Earl of Westmorland, and they joining in a Rebellion, summoned their Confederates, and issued out a Proclamation in the Queen's Name, commanding the people to put themselves in Arms for the Defence of her Majesty's Person. In their Banner was a Cross Painted, with the Five Wounds of Christ ; yet after all, they never could assemble more than 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot ; so that tho' they designed to have marched to York, they durst not do it ; and upon the first News that the Earl of Sussex was advancing towards them, they disbanded these Tumultuous Forces before he came up to them, and both the Earls fled into Scotland. The Earl of Northumberland was not long there before he was discovered by the Regent of Scotland, and was sent a Prisoner to the Castle of Lothelin, and in 1572, delivered into the Queen's hands ; and

Northumber-
land taken in
Scotland.

Westmorland
fled into *Flanders*.

the 22d of *August* in that year, he was Beheaded at *Tork*. The Earl of *Westmorland* fled into *Flanders*, and was received into the Protection of the *Spaniards*, where he lived to a great Old Age, and died in the year 1584, having lived all that while he was there in great Penury and Want. This was the last Earl of that Noble Family, which had enjoyed that Earldom Six Descents, from the year 1398, and was now wholly extinct, he being Attainted in Parliament, and leaving none but Daughters behind him. As their Forces were small, they did but very little mischief to any besides themselves: First they marched to *Durham*, which they entered without Resistance, in a kind of silly Triumph, and entering the Churches, they cast to the ground the Bibles, and trod upon them, because they were *English*; and then they plundered all the Church-Treasures, threatening great Calamities to all those they called Heretics: Then they went *Northward*, and Besieged *Bernard-Castle*, which Sir *George Baynes* defended against them Eleven days, and by that time they had taken it, *Sussex* was upon them, and they were forced to disband and fly for it;

it ; so little did the Popish Religion gain by this Abortive Insurrection.

When the Queen heard of this sudden Insurrection, she forthwith by the Advice of her Privy Council, issued out a sharp Proclamation against the two Earls and all the rest of the Commanders and Abettors of this Rebellion ; and exhorted all her Subjects to join heartily with her to revenge the Injury which was hereby offered both to her and them. The Popish Religion, which in the beginning of her Reign was not able to preserve it self, tho' Established by Law when she came to the Crown, in the Thirteen years which she had now Reigned, was become so much less in Numbers than it was at her coming to the Crown, and her Throne was now so well established, that many of the Roman-Catholicks which were desirous enough of Innovation, durst not be too forward to appear, for fear the Event should prove ruinous to them : So that many of them sent the Earls Letters to them, to the Queen, and promised to assist her towards the suppressing this Rebellion. And the two Earls being by their Servants and a company

K 4

The Causes
of the Mis-
carriage of
this Insurre-
ction.

The Character of

pany of hot-headed Priests, trick'd into a Rebellion, had made so little Preparations, that they seemed only to rise that they might fall the lower, and rise no more. But that which bastned the Reduction of them mostly, was the Reputation and Valour of *Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex*, then President of the North: He was a Gentleman of great Industry and Experience, and having now the supreme Command in the North, he would not give them time to fill up their Numbers, but getting what Forces he could on a sudden together, he marched against them with an Army of 7000 men; and by his bold and quick approach struck Terror into the Rebels, and extinguished this dangerous Fire in its beginning: The two Earls were by this time sensible that a gteat part of the Popish Faction would not Rise, and that they had neither Numbers, nor Officers, nor Ammunition, nor Money to carry on a War; and besides, they heard that the Earl of *Warwick* and *Clinton* were Raising Forces in the South, and had got together 12000 men, and were marching towards them: So that if they had beaten *Sussex*, they had been sure of another

ther Army in a few days; that wou'd have ruined the Remains of their small Forces. So that they had no other course to take, than to disband their men, and skulk away as well as they could.

Whilst the Earl of Northumberland continued at Liberty in Scotland, he was forced to lurk in a small Cottage destitute of Meat and Drink and all other Necessaries of human life, suitable to a Person of his Birth and Quality; as living amongst the bordering Thieves; and it was not long before they grew weary of him, and discovered him to the Regent of Scotland Morton, the next Regent of Scotland, told him after this, tho' he had formerly been very kindly entertained by this Earl, when he was forced to flee out of Scotland. So that as he had broke his Faith to his Mistress, he found no Faith, nor Piety, or Gratitude, amongst others, but was pin-su'd to the Block by a Dif-
tienties of the
Earl of Nor-
thumberland.
Vile Vengeance; which turned every thing against him. But it was, however, the happiness of this Family, that by his Attainder the Estate descended with the Title to Sir Henry Percy, his younger

younger Brother, upon whom it was by Name entailed by Queen *Mary*, when she re-granted this Earldom to this *Thomas*, in 1556; whereas the Family of the *Nevils* was intirely ruined, and never got up again.

The Earl of Sussex prosecutes the Rebels with great Severity.

The Earl of *Sussex* prosecuted the Rebels with great Severity, tho he had obtained so easie a Victory, and without any Bloodshed, hanging many of them who had the misfortune to fall into his hands, plundering their Houses of all they had, and confiscating and seizing their Estates. And not contented with this, he led his Army into *Scotland*, in hopes to catch the Fugitive *Earls*, and wasted *Tindale* with Fire and Sword, and then returned into *England*, without gaining what he sought. The Queen was so incensed against them too, that she Attainted all that she could find were concerned in it, that were men of Estate, but shewed more Mercy to the Poorer people, whose Ignorance might bespeak her Compassion. She ordered also her Thanks to be given to those Noblemen and Gentlemen, who in the heat of this Affair had taken Arms and come into her

her Assistance, commanding competent Rewards to be given to all that deserved them ; and that they should spare the Lives of all those miserable men, who should beg her Pardon, and acknowledge their Fault.

Out of the Ashes of this Rebellion there arose another at Naworth in the North part of Cumberland, upon *Servius's Wall*, which was headed by *Leopard* the second Son of *William Lord Dacres* of *Gillefland*. This Gentleman was discontented, because the Estate of his Family was by Law so vested in the Daughters of *Thomas Lord Dacres*, his Elder Brother, that it would pass into other Families with them ; and this was the first spring of this Motion : He was in the Conspiracy of the Two Earls, and was then at Court managing an Intrigue with some Foreign Ambassadors, for some Assistance to be sent to them ; but finding the War began unseasonably, he went to the Queen, and rendered her his Assistance against the Earls, and she granted him her Commission for the Raising men to that purpose : He thereupon sent some to encourage the Earls to persist, and so assure

Another Re-
bellion
springeth
out of this.

sure them, That he would join them with what Forces he could raise; but before he could get down and get into a Posture of Assailing them, he saw all their Army dispersed, and they forced to flee into *Scotland*; whereupon he formed a Design to Murder the Bishop of *Carlise*, and the Lord *Scrope*, Warden of the *West Marshes*; which when he saw he could not effect, he recommended the Two Earls to the *Scots*, and seized *Greystoke* and *Caworth* Castles as his own, which belonged to the Family of the *Dacres*; and he got together about 3000 Borderers, with some others who were the Friends of that Ancient and Splendid Family. The Lord *Hunsdon* hearing of this Insurrection, drew out a part of the Garrison of *Berwick* (of which he was Governour), and marched against this Incendiary, who met *Hunsdon*, and fought stoutly at the Head of his Party; which was yet at last over-powered and broken; the Lord *Hunsdon* having no great reason to be overjoyed at the Victory, by reason of the Number of men he lost: *Dacres* fled into *Scotland*, and was with the two Earls Attainted in the next Parliament. Both these Rebellions were caused

caused by Pope *Pius* his Bull, the they broke out before the *Bull* was Published here in *England*, which was one great reason that they spread no further. The Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*, who was then in the Custody of George Earl of *Shrewsbury*; the Restoring the Popish Religion, and the suppressing the Protestant, was the last thing they aimed at; and the King of *Spain* was the Fomenter of these Troubles, and had sent them Assurances that he would send them Assistance from *Flanders*, and had his Agent at Court to promote it. But all these Projects being disappointed, *England* soon returned to her former state of Peace; and the rest of the Popish Party seeing their Weakness, and the Severity of the Government against these Ring-leaders, soon found how much it was their Interest to be quiet.

The secret Head of all these Motions, The Duke of *Norfolk* the secret Head of these Rebellions. was *Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk*, who was the Richest, most Noble, and *Wiseſt* Peer then in *England*, and of the greatest Authority with the Queen, and no less beloved by the People. This Great Man having appeared a little over-inclined to favour the Interest of the

The Character of

the Captive Queen of the Scots, in the XIth. year of the Queen's Reign, he drew upon himself both the Suspicion of the Queen, and the Practices of his Enemies at Home and Abroad: The Pope, the King of Spain, and many of the Nobility of England, for different and very contrary ends, promoting a Marriage between the Queen of Scots, and this Duke; which being by the means of these Rebellions discovered in part to the Council of England, in the latter end of the year 1669, he was first Committed; he left the Court in Discontent, and resolved to Marry the Queen of Scots, without the Queen of England's Leave, tho he had promised the Queen he would proceed no further in this business: Whereupon he was committed Prisoner to the Tower, in the year 1571; and the 16th. of January, 1572. he was found Guilty of High-Treason, and Beheaded the 15th. of June following. The Greatness of his Fortunes and Soul, and the wonderful Affection the People of England on all occasions shewed to this Noble Gentleman, added to his Compassion for the Queen of Scots, who was a Lady of great Wit and Beauty, first stirred in him

him the thought of Marrying her upon her first coming into *England*; which coming to the Queen's ears, he was a little before the Rebellion of the *North*, put under Confinement; yet he found means to send Money to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, but so privately, that after this he had his Liberty again. By the procurement of one *Robert Ridolf*, Agent for Pope *Pius Quintus* here in *England*, under the pretence of Merchandize, he was again drawn into a secret Practice for the Marrying that Captive Queen; which being discovered to the *Lord Treasurer Burleigh*, by the Duke's Secretary, out of mere Treachery, he was again Imprisoned, Tried, and Convicted, by one whom he most trusted, and least suspected of Designing against him. Thus wonderfully did God appear for this Religious Queen, turning all the Crafty Imaginations of her Enemies, and all their intended Violences, upon their own heads, for the Preservation of this Church and Nation.

Saith Mr. *Camden*, 'The Love that ^{The Char-} the People of *England* bore to the ^{ter of the} *Duke of Norfolk*, is incredible, which ^{D. of Norfo} he

he had acquired by a Courtesie and Goodness which was worthy of so great a Prince. The Wiser part of the Nation were very differently affected towards him, some being affrighted at the Danger which was threatned to the Nation from his Numerous Party, whilst he lived to Head them: And others very heartily commiserating this Noble Gentleman, who was of an excellent Temper, of great Beauty, and of a Manly Aspect, and would have been the Ornament and Securer of his Countrey, if the fraudulent Arts of his Enemies had not turned him out of his former course and way of living, by the deceivable hopes of greater things, and the specious pretences and shews of promoting the Publick Welfare. His End renewed the Memory of his Father's most unhappy Fate, who Twenty Five Years before was Beheaded in the same place, only because he wore the Scatcheon of *Edward the Confessor*, in his Arms; which were granted to the *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, from whom he was descended Lineally, by King *Richard the IIId.*

This

This Bull of Pope *Pius V.* and his Prelates against *England*, produced a shoal of Traytors to plague that Generation ; for they were ever after it restlesly plotting and conspiring against their Sovereign, their Countrey, and their Kindred, with an invincible perfidy and obstinacy, which the Executions of many could not extinguish : But yet the Calamity did not end there ; for from the same Exuberant Fountain of Mischief, issued those refractory and stubborn Recusants, who separating from the Communion and Service of the Chutch of England (which till then they had frequented without the least scruple or difference) they set up Popish Conventicles, and the Latin Mass, and called over a swarm of Jesuits, Priests, and Monks, to infect the Nation, and incense those that entertained them, against the Religion and Government that was established, and so perpetuated our Quarrels, and kept open the bloody wounds of this Kingdom. This is the thing we have most reason to complaint of, because it has brought upon all the succeeding Times, great miseries and distresses ; and the Wisdom of our Forefathers has not been able to cure this Disease. The Queen seeing in the mean time

time the mischief this would bring upon her Kingdoms, and being roused by the Rebellions in the North, and the intimations she had, that there were Designs on foot against her Person and Life, took up a resolution to put a stop to it; and to that end, passed an Act in the next Parliament for the levying 20 L. *the Month, upon all that should refuse to go to Church, and attend at the Service of God; or to take the Oath of Supremacy.* And finding that the Jesuits and Secular Priests were, under the Mask and Pretence of Religion, the Spies and Partisans of Philip II. King of Spain, and the Emissaries and Promoters of the Papal Tyranny and Disorder; and that their greatest busines was to pervert her Subjects, and to entice them to commit the most unnatural and horrid Crimes, she banished them for ever from her Kingdoms and Territories, and made it Treason for them to return, and Felony for any of her Subjects (knowing them to be such) to entertain, conceal, or harbor them. This, which was designed by the Queen and the Government to cure, or rather to prevent their Treachery and Malice, by keeping them at a distance, inflamed their rage against her,

Which occasioned the
Acts of P. a-
gainst the Re-
cusers.

her, so that concealing themselves under the Habits and Dresses of Lay men, and sometimes under the Disguise of Mechanick and mean Trades and Employments, they lay as it were in ambush, expecting and ready to catch at any opportunity that offered it self to murther her.

In the year 1578. which was the 12th year of her Reign, and the very year when the Popish Schism began; several of the Popish Priests fled over into Flanders, where Philip II. had already prepared for them a College at Doway; and here they put themselves under the Government of one William Alan, a Divine of Oxford; who having obtained a large Pension from the Pope, opened here a School for Rebellion and Treason; To the end (say they) that as the Papal Priests in England are by time extinguished, there might always be a new Race to supply their Places, and sow the Seeds of the Roman Religion in England; and therefore they called these Places Seminaries, and those that were educated in them Seminary Priests. And called Campian the two first Seminary Priests sent into England.

The first of these Seminary Priests sent over, were Robert Parson, and Edmund Campion, in the year 1580. Parson was

The Character of

a *Somersetshire* man, of a furious and hot Temper, and of an ungenteel behaviour: *Campion* was a *Londoner*, well bred, sweet and elegant, and both of them had been bred up in the University of *Oxford*, and had profess'd the Protestant Religion. These men, upon their coming over into *England*, appeared sometimes in a Military Habit, sometimes in the Dress of a Gentleman, and at others in the Habits of the Clergy, and sometimes like *Paritors*, and frequented the Country Hous-es, and Seats of the *Popish* Nobility and Gentry. *Parson* was so hot with them for the deposing of the Queen, that *some of them were strongly inclined to deliver him up into the Hands of the Magistrates*. *Campion* made it more his busines to pervert the People by his Writings, to the Popish Religion; but his Reign was not long, for in the year 1581. he was taken and executed for High-Treason. The Queen had before this, put out a Proclamation to give these men a caution before-hand, That *seeing they had put off all that Love which they owed to their Countrey, and the Allegiance which was due to her, they should yet behave themselves prudently and modestly, and not irritate*

tate her Justice any farther against them; for she was now resolved not to be cruel to her self and her good Subjects any longer, by sparing such Miscreants, as she had found them to be: So that how severely soever they were used, they had the less reason to complain, because she had fairly before-hand told them what she meant to do, and what usage they might expect at her hands.

In the year 1583. *Francis Throgmorton*, the eldest Son of *John Throgmorton*, Chief Justice of *Chester*, *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*, and others of the Popish Religion, conspired to deliver the Queen of *Scots* out of her Confinement. *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Philip* his Son, Earl of *Arundel*, were suspected, and confined to their own Houses: and some others were suspected, and difficultly delivered themselves. For about this time, the outrageous Malice of the Popish Party against the Queen, broke out to that degree, that they printed Books to exhort the Queens Servants to serve her as *Judith did Holofernes*. The Author of which was never fully discovered, but it was suspected that it was written by

The Character of

Gregory Martin of Oxford; but Carter, a Printer that printed it, was hanged; *Tbrogmorton* had the same Fate; but *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*, left the Nation, and went into *France*. *Stafford*, the Queen's Ambassador, desired they might be sent out of *France*, which was denied, because the Queen had at the same time entertained the Count de *Montgomery*, and had then with her, *Sagner* an Advocate of *Berne*, an Ambassador for the King of *Navar*, who was endeavouring to promote a War in *France*.

Parry's Con-
spiracy a-
gainst the
Queen.

In the year 1585. *William Parry*, a Welshman by Birth, and of a very mean Extraction, meanly learned in the Civil Law, but proud and gallant beyond his Means, being chosen a Member of the Lower-House, declaimed very furiously against a Bill then proposed in Parliament against the Jesuits, averring that it was a cruel, bloody, desperate Bill, and would be destructive to the Kingdom of England. Being desired to shew his Reasons for what he said, he refused to answer before any other than the Privy Council, whereupon he was committed, and afterwards upon his submissi-

on,

on, readmitted into the House ; but was afterwards accused by *Edmund Nevil*, the Heir Male of the House of *Westmorland*, to have a Design against the Life of the Queen, which he confessed afterwards in the Tower, upon which he was tryed and executed.

In the year 1586. *J. Ballard*, a Ruffling Priest of the College of *Reims*, came over to embroil the Nation, and made his visit to most of the Popish Nobility and Gentry in *England* and *Scotland*, being every where accompanied by one *Maud*, who was a Spy employed by Sir *F. Walsingham*. This Silken Priest ^{Babington's Conspiracy.} His Character, came into *England* about *Easter*, and contracted a great acquaintance and friendship with Mr. *Anth. Babington*, of *Dethick* in *Derbyshire*, a young Gentleman of good Birth and Estate, of great Wit, and Learned above his years ; but being a great Zealot for the Romish Religion, he about a year before this, without the Queen's leave, went into *France*, and there was first debauched as to his Loyalty by *Morgan*, an Agent for the *Scotchmen* in that Court. *Ballard* informed this Gentleman, that the Queen of *England* would not live long,

Savage sent to because there was one Savage come over to assassinate the Queen. This Project did not please Babington, so he formed a new

The Persons Design, in which were Edward, Brother in Babington's to the Lord Windsor, Thomas Sarisbury, of the County of Denbigh, Charles Conspiracy.

Tilney, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners that waited upon the Queen, and the only hope of his Family; but reconciled to the Church of Rome under-hand by this Ballard; Chidick Tickburn, of the County of Southampton, Edward Abington, Son of the Queen's Cofferer; Robert Grage of Surry, John Traverse, John Charnock of Lancaster, John Jones, whose Father had been Master of the Wardrobe to Queen Mary; Savage, and one Barnwell of a Noble Irish Family; Henry Dun, a Clerk in the Tenth and First Fruits Office; and there was one Polle, who pretended to be a great Friend of the Queen of Scots, and was trusted very much in her Affairs, though he was a Spy employed by Walsingham the Secretary. Nave, the Scotch Queens Secretary, had in some degree suspected the Treachery of this false Brother, and had given them a caution to beware of him; but he appeared so active to promote the Conspiracy, and pushed

pushed them on in the Design with so much Zeal and Warmth, that they had no manner of suspicion of him, tho he every day discovered to the Secretary what they did or said.

Babington was the great Manager of Babington the this Plot, and assigned to every one of great Actor in them his business, without communicating to all the Orders he had given to the several Parties. He was very earnest that Tilney and Tichburne should be the men that should assassinate the Queen, which they at first stoutly refused, till Ballard and Babington undertook to prove to them, That it was lawful to kill an Excommunicated Prince; and that if Justice was in any cause to be violated, it was for the sake of the Catholick Religion: Yet they at last did not heartily consent, but in some sort yielded, but with great reluctance. Abington, Barnwell, Charnock, and Savage, were on the other hand prepared and ready for mischief, and so needed no Perswasion. Sarisbury would never be perswaded to have any hand in the Death of the Queen, but then he promised his assistance for the freeing the Queen of the Scots. Whilst they were contriving the Design, and tax-

king care for Foreign Forces to second it, *Gilbert Giffard* a Priest, was sent over to put *Savage* in mind of his Promise, who was born of a good Family at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley Castle*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then a Prisoner; and he came over under the Name of *Luson*. His other Business was to take care to transmit beyond Sea the Queen of *Scots* Letters, which several others of Greater Quality had refused. This *Giffard* betrayed the whole Business to *Secretary Walsingham*, and sent him all theirs, and the Queen of *Scots* Letters; So that the whole Design was discovered, and to be proved as clear as the Light in Heaven. Whereupon the Queen ordered *Ballard* to be taken up, and *Babington* to be so closely observed, that he could not stir. *Giffard* was sent into *France*, where being suspected, he was clapt up in Prison, and perished miserably. The 13th of September, seven of the Conspirators were arraigned, and confessed the Crime, viz. *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney*, *Abington*; seven denied it, and put themselves upon their Tryal. *Babington* was executed with great severity;

ty ; *Savage* broke the Rope, and was cut up alive, without any hanging : These two, with *Savage*, *Barnwell*, *Tichbura*, *Tilney*, and *Abington*, were executed with great rigour the 20th of Sept. in St. Giles's-Fields. The next day the other seven were executed with more mercy, the Queen detested the cutting them up alive, as had been done the day before : These were *Sarisbury*, *Duns*, *Jones*, *Charnock*, *Travers*, *Gage*, and one *Bellamy*, who was not in the Plot, but had a brother in it, who hanged himself in Prison ; and *Bellamy* was executed for concealing *Babington*, after he was declared to be a Tray-tor.

This Conspiracy being thus detected, This Conspiracy proved fatal to the Queen of Scots, and was the Cause and Pretence of her Death, she being tryed as one of them that had an hand in it, as without doubt she had.

The Papists in that, and all the succeeding Ages, have belched out against Queen Elizabeth, the Hellish Steams of an enraged Malice, traducing her as the most bloody and unmerciful Tyrant. A Justification of Queen Elizabeth against the Re-proaches of the Papists.

gant that ever yet swayed a Scepter; and averring that the *Roman Catholicks* suffered as much or more in her Reign, than all the Primitive Christians did under the *Pagan* and *Arian-Roman Emperors*. Now if this were literally true, yet they have no reason to complain, because they brought all this upon themselves, by their abominable Perfidy and Treasons, which the other never were guilty of. For could they think she was bound to sit still, and suffer them to depose and murther her? No; but if they find the Person of a Prince is out of their reach, that they cannot destroy it, their next care is, to defame them to Posterity, and so to murther their Reputation. But the necessary Inference is, That this is the worst Religion that ever got foot amongst men, and equally destructive to its own Votaries, and others, by putting them that embrace it, upon such base and detestable Practices, as must ruin both Body and Soul, and make their Names infamous to Posterity. Who can consider the Untimely End of Mr. Babington, a hopeful Young Gentleman, and not detest to the Pit of Hell, the Baseness and Treachery of Ballard and

and Gifford, those Firebrands of Hell, that brought him to so Untimely a Grave, with Infamy and Horrible Tortures ; for he was perfectly alive when he was cut open, and said after he was cut down, *Parce mihi Domine Jesu;* *Lord Jesus spare me.* And however unjustifiable the Execution of the Queen of Scots is, these were the men that brought her too to an Untimely Grave, and betrayed her into the hands of her Enemies ; and in the Day of Judgment thy shall answer for her Blood.

The Queen in the mean time finding her Treasury exhausted by the vast Expences she had been put to for the upholding the *Hollanders* against the *Spaniards*; to whom in the year 1576. she Lent 20000*l.* and after that time she furnished them several times: And in the year 1585. she had Cautionary Towns given her, and openly espoused their Cause, and undertook the protection of them. All these great Expences, and her Troubles at home, enforced her to demand Assistance of her Subjects in Parliament, which was accordingly given by the *Temporality* and the *Clergy*, most freely and liberally, and with a kind

The Queen has a plentiful Supply given her in Parliament.

kind of Emulation which should give most. The Queen finding on the other side, that of four *Subsidies* that were given her, three would do her business, she by her Proclamation discharged the fourth, and so much of the other three as was not levied ; presuming that the backwardness of the payment was occasioned only by the poverty of those that should have paid it. Thus her Care and Thrift enabled her to maintain a vast Charge with a small Revenue ; and at the same time relieve the needy part of the Nation, by her remitting one Part , and the whole Nation by releasing another Part ; which won the Hearts of her People to that degree, that they never after denied her whatever she asked.

The Spaniards
send Lopez
and two o-
thers to
murther the
Queen.

The Spaniards finding their Naval Preparation in 1588. defeated ; all their Designs against the Hollander's baffled ; their Attempts in Ireland disappointed ; their Forces wasted , and the Floods of Treasure the New World then sent them, exhausted to small or no purpose ; in the Year 1594. out of meer spite and desperation they condescended so low, as to employ one *Roderick Lov-*
pes

pez a Jew, and a Physician by Profession, to Poyson the Queen; *Stephen Ferreira Gama*, and *Emanuel Loisio*, two Portuges, to stabher; but all this was seasonably discovered to the Queen by the Letters that were sent to them, and intercepted by her Subjects, that they were all three taken up, and they all confessed their several Treasons, and had Sentence of Death for it, and they were all three executed for it; together with one *Cullin*, an *Irish Fencing-Master*, who was hired by the Fugitives in *Flanders*, and sent over to Murther the Queen, which he also confessed. And not long after, *Edmund York*, and *Richard Williams* were hired by *D. Tbarra*, a Spaniard, and these Fugitives, and sent into *England* on the same Errand.

Cullin, York, and Williams, sent from Flanders on the same Errand.

And executed in 1595.

When the Queen was told of all the base Conspiracies against her Life, she was no way terrified at the danger, tho she saw *Henry the III.* fall by their Hands in the Year 1589, in *France*; but repeated that Passage in the *Psalms*, *Thou art my God, my time is in thy hand*, (*Psalm 31.*) And with a Masculine Courage, despising all their Rage and Baseness, she took great care of her self, and put her whole

She spared none of those who fell into her hands.

whole trust in God : For the rest, persisting to her dying day in her first Resolution, not to spare one of these Traytors that fell into her hands, as she at first told them in a Proclamation she would not : *And this is the true way of dealing with these Implacable Monsters, who are neither worthy of Mercy, nor capable of Repentance.*

A Digression concerning William Parry.

This Censure may possibly seem too severe to thofe that are not perfectly acquainted with the Principles and Tempers of these Men ; and therefore it will not be amifs to confirm it with an Example : *William Parry*, mention'd above, was employed by the Jesuits to murther the Queen, and they had thoroughly perwaded him, *That there was nothing more Glorious than to die for the service of the Church*; and that he would be reputed a Martyr, if he could extirpate her who was the Favourer of Heretic, and the Enemy of the Church. To this End he came into England, in the Year 1583. And to insinuate himself into the Queen's Favour (whose Servant he had formerly been) and to obtain her belief, he freely and openly told her, that he had been folicited by

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Murther her, by Morgan and other Fugitive Priests beyond the Seas; Pretending that he had entered into a Familiarity with them to no other end, than to discover their secret Designs against her, and to take care of her Safety, to whom he owed his Life; she having pardoned him when he had forfeited it to Justice, in the year 1580. The Queen heard all this Story with an unconcerned Courage, and told him, That none of the Catholics should be called in question on account of his Religion, or of the Pope's pretended Supremacy, if they behaved themselves in all other things like good Subjects. Which words he afterwards confessed made such an impression on his mind, that he could not forget them: And after this he was so much in her good opinion, that he solicited for an Employment; but receiving a Letter from the Cardinal of Comá, wherein he commended the Design he was engaged in, (faith he) and sending him an Absolution in the Pope's Name; tho' he shewed the ^{Parry's Con-} fession.

Letter to the Queen, yet he persisted in his Resolution to Assassinate her; and from thenceforward had no scruple in his mind concerning the Lawfulness of the Fact.

But then he pretended he was resolved first

to try if he could persuade her by fair means to use the Catholics more favourably : And when at any time he went to the Queen, he would lay by his Dagger, for fear the Opportunity should be too strong a Temptation to him. When he looked upon her, and considered her Royal Virtues, he confessed he was staggered in his mind : But his Vows were in Heaven, and his Letters and Promises on Earth, that he would do it ; and this perpetually disquieted him, and put him in a sweat. At last he fell upon a Book written by Alan a Jesuit, to prove, That Princes that were Excommunicated, might be Deposed or Slain ; and this Book was a strong Motive to him to go on with the treason. And he committed it to Nevil, (who afterwards Accused him) ; and they two having taken in Oak of Scone into their power, formed a Design to set upon her with Ten Horsemen when she was in the Convey, and so Murder her. They could, however, never find the opportunity ; and about six months after this the Earl of Westmorland dying, and Nevil being his next heir, he discovered to Secretary Watlington their Conspiracy. By the Queen's Order he sent for Parr, and asked him, if he had had

His Design
discover'd by
one Nevil.

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any Treaty with any Dissatisfied or Suspected person; opening him a door for his Escape; but he plainly denied he ever had; for if he had confessed it, and said he did it to try *Nevil*, he had without doubt escaped; but the Crime he had resolved upon, had blinded his eyes so, that he could not see it: Nay, he had the Impudence to say, That tho' the Queen had twice spared his Life, yet he was not beholden to her for it, because it had been unjust so have taken it. The greatest part of this Narrative is extracted from his own Confession before the Lord Chancellor *Haston*, and others; so that there can be no doubt of the Truth of it.

This her Severity to them struck a great Terror into the minds of the English Papists, when they every where saw the Heads and Quarters of their Party exposed to the publick view, but nothing could cure or appease their festering Malice. Her Majesty and Presence, we see, was able to excite the Admirations, and her undoubted Valour to terrifie this Gangrene, as he confessed; but the charmed his hands, yet neither way her Piety or Goodness
The Queen's Severity to these Conspirators made her terrible to the English Papists.

able to melt his hardened heart; nor was her Severity towards him, and other such Miscreants, sufficient to mitigate the enraged Malice of the rest of the Jesuits and Popish Villains, but they still went on with their Hellish Designs to destroy her. But when all was done, the Goodness of God watched over her to preserve her, and frustrated all the Designs of wicked men against her; and without this, all the wise Counsel of Burleigh and Walsingham, and the rest of her Servants would have signified nothing. We may see Henry the III d. of France, and Henry the IV th. his Successor, tho' they both professed the Roman-Catholick Religion, were Assassinated in the day time, in the midst of their Servants and Friends, by these Religious Villains, when it was not possible they that did it could escape; and yet this Queen, who was more hated than either of them, and less able to defend her self, in the spite of all their Malice Reigned above Forty four years, and died in Peace. And it is worth the observing, That in all the times since the Reformation began, which is now One hundred seventy five years, though they have been engaged in endless Plots against

But it was
God that pre-
served her.

against the Protestant Princes, yet they have been so far disappointed by the special Providence of God, that I do not know of any Prince they have been able to Assassinate, but *William the First*, Prince of *Orange*; and him they attempted twice before it succeeded.

In the year 1567, there broke out a second Civil War in *France*, on the score of Religion, which filled that once most flourishing Kingdom with Factions and Seditions, and strangely exagitated the Towns and great Cities of that Kingdom; so that the people of *France* ran upon each other as if they had been divided and set on by a Divine Judgment. *Catherine de Medicis*, the Queen Dowager of *France*, had then assumed the Supreme Government, as Guardian to *Charles IX.* her Son, who was then a Minor: She and her Council were contriving by all the ways that were possible, to suppress the *Protestants* of *France*, which grew numerous during the Minority of the King, and under the Favour and Protection of the last Treaty; to this end they had ordered some men to be Levied in *Champagne*, and had sent for Six thousand *Swiss*:

The Prince of Conde, and Caligny, observing these Preparations, concluded they were made against them, and resolved to begin first; and they formed a Design to surprize the King and the Queen-Mother at Meaux; but she being informed of it, withdrew in the night time towards Paris; the Prince of Conde being thus disappointed, followed them to Paris, and Besieged that City, which being reduced to some freights, there followed a Fight at St. Dennis, in which Montmorancy was slain, but the Protestants were driven out of the Field; and they fell next upon Chartres, which they besieged. Queen Elizabeth thereupon ordered her Ambassador Norris to interpose between the Parties, and bring them to a Peace, as he did, but it was short, and full of Insincerity and Treachery. The Queen-Mother of France was now so afraid of Queen Elizabeth, that to prevent her leading Succours to the Protestants, she caused a Marriage to be proposed between her and the Duke of Anjou, her Second Son, who was afterwards King of France, by the name of Henry III. and was now about Seventeen years of Age, but this Treaty ended

ed with the Peace, for the procuring of which it was began.

In the year 1568. the War broke out again, by the Perfidy of the Popish Party, who had now joined with the Spaniards, by a Treaty made in a clandestine manner at Bayonne, in the year 1565. for the Extirpating the Protestant Religion in France and Flanders, and the mutual assisting each other to that purpose. And the Duke de Alva, the Spanish Governor of the Low-Countries, had Orders to join with the Guises in this Religious work; and tho the King of France had in the beginning of this year promised them of that Persuasion Liberty of Conscience, yet he soon after put out an Edict to forbid all publick Exercise of any other Religion in France but the Roman-Catholick; and commanding all the Protestant Ministers to depart out of France within a certain time. This was followed by a severe Prosecution, and in many places they were Assassinated or Robbed, and all France was thereupon in Arms; Queen Elizabeth ordered her Ambassador to use all his Endeavours to procure a solid and a sincere Peace, shewing the

King, the Methods proposed would only serve to exasperate the minds of his People, and deprive him of the Service of his most faithful Subjects; so that the Forces of France being diminished with his People, his Kingdom would be exposed to the Violence of its Enemies: A Consideration which Lewis the XIV^{th.} may have reason one day to think more seriously of: But now it was rejected, and the young King of France sent into Spain to borrow Money, and into Germany and Italy to raise Auxiliary Forces to carry on the War: Whereupon the Queen resolved not to be wanting to the common Protestant Interest (which was now plainly struck at); and upon the French Protestants assuring her, That they had not taken up Arms against the King's Authority, but for their own sole Defence, she sent them One hundred thousand Crowns in Money, and great Stores of Ammunition, and entertained all the French that fled into England, with great Humanity. It is worth the observing here, the Wild Notions of *Passive Obedience*, which have been since set on foot, were not in being in these times, the Queen desiring no other Security or Justification, than

She sends
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Crowns, and
great Stores
of Arms and
Ammunition
into France
to the Protes-
tants.

than this Protestation, which being A Reflection joined with her own knowldg of the ^{concerning} ~~Passive~~ ^{Obe-} Designs of the *Guises*, was then thought sufficient to warrant a Defensive War, when nothing less than the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion was intended. She did not think these Subjects of *France* were obliged to submit to an Extirpation, because it was the Will of their Monarch to have it so; nor that she Assisted Rebels and Traytors against their Lawful Prince, when she undertook the Defence of those of her own Religion against a Tyrant, who contrary to all Faith and Humanity, had designed the Destruction of those he was bound and had promised to protect.

The King of *France* seeing by this time a destructive War would follow, ^{The King of France la-} to distract the Minds and divide the Forces of the *Protestants*, promised that all those that continued quiet at home, without Suc- should be tolerated; but this Facility, as a Jesuit calls it, when it was a mere Treachery, had no effect, the Perfidy of it was palpable: If he was in good earnest, why had he Revoked the former Edict, and began the War? Who could

could reconcile these two contrary Edicts, That they should and should not be tolerated at one and the same time? The Pope to promote this War, gave the King leave to sell Church-Lands, to the Value of 50000 Crowns by the year; and saith the same Jesuit, *Never were Church Revenues better employed, or granted away upon a better reason.* The destruction of Heretics with Fire and Sword, contrary to the Publick Faith, is certainly a most Holy Work, and an Excellent Subject to spend the Revenues of the Church on. The next year the Armies drew into the Field, and in March there followed a Fight at *Jarnac*, in which the Prince of *Condé* was slain, and *Caligni* became General of the Protestants; and after this another at *Montcontour*, in which the Protestants lost 20000 men: They renewed their Forces, however, with that Alacrity, that in the year 1570. they forced the King, after a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, when he saw he could not any longer continue the War without apparent Ruin, to make a Peace on the same terms with the former. The Queen-Mother was the Firebrand of France, and the other Civil Wars and by her Dissimulation and Hypocrisy,

The true Causes of this and by her Dissimulation and Hypocrisy
Mother was the Firebrand of France,
and the other Civil Wars
of France.

sy, raised all these Combustions there. She was jealous of the Princes of the Blood, of the House of Bourbon, who were become the Heads of the Protestants in that Kingdom ; and she was perpetually Plotting how to ruin them, or force them to preserve themselves by War. The King of Spain pushed on the Incendiaries of France, under pretence of securing the Catholick Religion, but with a Design at the bottom to weaken that Kingdom by their intestine Wars, and at last to subdue it. Queen Elizabeth observed all this, and saw whither it tended ; and by her seasonable Supplies upheld the Protestant Party, which was the weaker, till she forced the Court of France to see its Error, and lay aside, or rather change their destructive Methods, for others that were more infamous, and as ineffectual. In the mean time the noble Kingdom of France was desolated by Fire and Sword, their Populous Towns destroyed, their Rich Churches and Monasteries plunder'd, their Nobility and Gentry slain on both sides, and by their own Swords ; their Matrons Ravished, and the Children Murdered in the Arms of

The Queen
of England
preserv'd the
Protestants
of France.

of their Parents, and *France* was more wasted by this War in her bowels, than by all the Foreign Wars she had been engaged in from the time the *English* were expelled, to that time. *Was ever Church-Treasures better spent?*

The begin-
ning of the
Low-Country
War.

At the same time that *France* was thus miserably harass'd by an intestine War, the *Spaniards* were as busie in the *Low-Countries* to extirpate Heresie, as they pretended, but in truth to deprive those Provinces, under that pretence, of their Ancient Liberties and Civil Privileges, and to submit them to the Servitude of the Insolent *Spaniards*, that so they might from thence pass on to the Conquest of *England* and *France*, and so erect an Universal Monarchy in Europe; which Design they had Vanity enough to discover. To this end, in the year 1564. they erected Seven new Bishopricks to curb that people. In the year 1565. he commanded the Council of *Trent* to be Revived, together with the Inquisition, and a strict observation of the Edicts concerning Religion. Upon this the Nobility of those Countries, as well those that persisted in

In the Roman-Catholic Religion, as those that were well inclined to the Reformation; seeing the Liberty and Riches, Trade and Commerce of their Countrey must be ruined, if these courses were taken, they interceded with *Margaret* the King's Sister, their Regent, that the King's Letter might not be put in execution; but she went on, however, and they on the other hand stood upon their guard, and as much as was possible hindred it. The next year the Quarrel grew higher, and the multitude rose in many places with an irresistible fury, and destroyed all the *Images* in the Churches of many of the great Cities; the Torrent ran so high, and was so impetuous, that the Regent was forced to publish an Edict of Liberty of Conscience, to appease the people, the Spaniards being notable by any other means to secure the Possession of these Countries; but so soon as the people were quieted, the Edict was recalled; which they owned was granted only to gain time to send for Men and Moneys, to force the Inhabitants of the *Netherlands* to submit to the King's Will, and to punish them for their disobedience. Yet however,

in

in the mean time, whilst this Edict was observed, all places returned to the former state of Peace, and Trade went on successfully; so that if the King of Spain could have persuaded himself to have complied with his Interest in this Affair, he and his Posterity had continued in the Peaceable Possession of those Provinces, which would have been worth the owning, Rich, Populous, and Potent, and able to defend themselves against the French. But by pursuing contrary Methods, he brought a War upon himself, which wasted Spain, ruined his Treasures, erected a part of those Provinces into an Independent Commonwealth; and so depopulated and impoverished the rest, that they are not able to defend themselves against the French: So that the breaking this Edict, proved the Ruin of all the Spanish Greecels.

The King of Spain enraged at the Edict for Liberty of Conscience.

This Liberty of Conscience, which was extorted from the Regent by pure Force and Fear, being sent into Spain to be confirmed by the King, he was highly displeased at it, and ordered some of his Council to let the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont know, "That

if

' if they or either of them had opposed
' these Insurrections with that Bravery
' they had shewed on other occasions,
' and as they were bound in Duty to
' have done, things could never have
' been brought by the Populace into
' the state they were now in: That if
' yet they would do their Duty without
' mincing or dissembling, absolutely,
' they might reduce things into the for-
' mer state, or at least keep them as
' they were, till the King could come
' thither himself to settle them. That
' is was the Duty of a good Subject,
' when he once knew his Prince's Plea-
' sure, to set himself roundly, (with-
out considering what should be the
' event to himself or others), to put the
' same in execution, and that willingly,
' readily, and effectually, tho' he him-
' self were of a contrary opinion, for
' that it did not become them so think
' themselves wiser than their Prince,
' since they were his Subjects and Vaf-
' fals: They had Advices at the same
time from Spain, That the King was
firmly resolved to oppose these Grants
of his Sister the Regent, both to pre-
vent the Example as to his other Pro-
vinces, and also preserve the Popish
Re-

The Spaniards design to settle an Absolute and Arbitrary Government in the Netherlands.

Religion in these. And they were informed also, that under the pretence of preserving the Catholick Religion in the Netherlands, there was a Design formed to advance the King's Power; and that they were not displeased at Court, that they had this occasion given them to bring the whole under, and settle in them a new and more Absolute Form of Government; because they concluded in Spain, That all the Obstinate the people had shown, proceeded from their Reliance upon their great Freedoms and Privileges. But then this was to be concealed with the utmost care from them; and the King and the Regent to delude and deceive them, wrote the kindest Letters, and spoke the sweetest Words to the Confederate Lords, and especially to the Prince of Orange, that the Wit of man could invent. But in the mean time, the Regent Levied Two Regiments in Flanders, under the Earls of Arenbergh and Megem, and Two more in Germany, under Count Philip of Oversteins, and Three of Walloons, and a German Regiment of Horse, under Count Mansfeldt. These Forces were Levied in distant places, and upon different pretences, and brought into, or near the Provinces; and

and then the Regent began to throw off her Mask by degrees ; And she ordered The Regent to grow severe many places to be disturbed, pretending they were not kept just in the same place that on various pretences they were at first allowed. And after, she went on and seized on and imprisoned some of the Preachers on the same pretence ; and she hanged one of them near AEST. And when complaint was made of these Proceedings to the Regent, she would sometimes say, Her Consent was not free, but extorted from her by fear, and therefore she was not bound to keep her Promise. And at other times she would say, She promised them a Liberty to Preach, but she never meant they should Marry, Bury, Baptize, Administer the Lord's Supper, and hold Consistories, and the like.

When the Regent saw her Forces at hand, she wrote to the City of Valenciennes to receive a Garrison, in the year 1566, because that City was more inclined to embrace the Reformed Religion, than any of the rest in the Low-Countries, and had rescued some that were condemned to be burnt for Heretic heretofore, and also because it was commanded to receive a Garrison.

The Character of

nearer to France, and so more suspect-ed. They refused to comply with this Command, alledging many Reasons and Privileges to the contrary ; and were thereupon proclaimed Rebels the 14th. of December. After this, all means good and bad were used to prevent the exercise of the Protestant Religion ; which had its effect in all places, but *Amsterdam*, *Antwerp*, *Sheringen-bosk*, *Maastricht*, *Utrecht*, and *Ghent* ; for these Cities still upheld it. These Proceedings alarm'd the Cities of *Flanders* ; and *Antwerp* sent a Committee of the principal Inhabitants to consult with the Deputies of the Cities in *Brabant*, who all joined in a Petition to the Regent, That there might be a General Assembly of the States, to take present order concerning the business of Religion, by provision, That then new Orders might be therein made for the preserving the true Christian Religion, the Authority and Majesty of their King, and for the pro-moting the Prosperity of these Provin-cies : That in the mean time assurance should be given to those of the Reformed Religion, That they should not be molested or disquieted during this Suspension : That after the said States have resolved with

The rest of
the Cities
petition for a
General As-
sembly of the
States.

with the King how they will settle these things, those that were not satisfied with their Orders, might have some Months time given them to retire in, whither they pleased; and those that would submit, should have a general Pardon granted them. This reasonable Request was very little debated, because they of the Council knew the King's mind; but was altogether rejected. The principal Nobility of these Countries thereupon met at *Dermonde*: And here was read the Letter written by the Lord *Montigni*, giving an account how much the King of *Spain* resented the present state of Affairs in the *Low-Countries*: And there was also read a Letter written by *Francis Davala*, the *Spanish Ambassador* in the Court of *France*, to the *Regent of Flanders*, the 29th. of *August*, 1566. which was intercepted; wherein he endeavoured to confirm her Highness in her opinion, That all the Calamities of the *Netherlands* sprang from the *Triumvirate*, (meaning the *Prince of Orange*, and the *Counts of Egmont and Hoorn*): That it was fit nevertheless to shew these all the respect that was possible; and to tell them, that the King owned the pre-

The Deligns
of Spain di-
covered to
the Nobility
of the Nether-
lands.

' serving those Countries to have been
' the effect of their Loyalty and good
' Service : But yet when time served he
' would punish them : And also the
' two Lords that were now in *Spain*,
' who should be kept there still to that
' purpose, with Counsellor *Rennert* ;
' and that the King had sworn at *Madrid*,
That he saw well that what had hap-
pened in the *Netherlands*, was not only
prejudicial to his Honour, but also to
the Service of God, which touched
him so near, that he would run the ha-
zard of losing all the Dominions he
had, rather than not chastise this Re-
bellion exemplarily in the sight of all
Christendom ; and that he would go
thither in Person, and send to the Em-
peror and the Pope for Assistance.
That his Majesty would certainly reap
great Advantages from the ill things
that had been done ; and expected to
see those Countries brought under his
Absolute Command ; and to settle af-
ter this, both the Religion and the
Civil Government, as he thought fit ;
which the King could never have
done, if these things had not hapned.
That the King had desired this a long
time, and they had now given him
' means

' means to bring them under as to the
 ' Civil State, and to quiet them as to
 ' the matters of Religion, as he thought
 ' fit.

Thus the Crafty *Spaniard* made up his reckoning without his host, and in the end found himself deceived. The Nobility were never able, however, to come to any Resolve, because Count *Egmont* was resolved to throw himself upon the King's Mercy, and the Prince of *Orange* durst not undertake to Head the Leaguers against so Potent and Im-placable a Prince as *Philip the II^d.* was then : So this Discovery terrified and divided, instead of uniting them : And the City of *Valencien^s* in the mean time defended it self very resolutely, from the 14th. of *December* to the 24th. of *March*, and then was forced to submit to Mercy : *Norcarmes*, the General for the King of *Spain*, thereupon hanged up their Ministers, and about Two hundred of the best of the Inhabitants ; whereupon the Regent forced or per-suaded a great part of the Nobility to take an Oath to maintain the *Roman-Catholick Religion* ; but yet the Prince of *Orange*, and some few others, refu-

The Discov-
ery at the
first only ter-
rified and di-
vided them.

Valencien^s
besieged.

sed it, and retired. After this, she fell to shut up all the Protestant Meeting-Houses, and opened the Popish Churches, furnishing them splendidly with new Images, and other such-like Necessaries; and they hanged up the contrary Party by whole-sale, fifty or an hundred in a place, some for pulling down their Images, and others for bearing Arms against the Government: And in some of the greater Cities they hanged up two, three, or four hundred men, making Gallows of the Timber of their Meeting-Houses. Upon this many thousands of the Inhabitants of these Countries retired, some into *England*, and others into *Germany*; so that by the beginning of *May*, 1567. the Regent was intirely Mistress of all the Seventeen Provinces, and there was not the least opposition any where made to whatsoever she was pleased to order. Yet the King was never the more appeased; but so soon as he heard the Inhabitants were mastered and brought under, he put *John Marques of Bergen op Zom*, and the Marques *Van Morsigni*, two *Flandrian* Noblemen, both of the *Roman-Catholick Religion*, who went into *Spain* to inform him of the state

A bloody
Persecution
against the
Protestants
of the Nether-
lands.

state of Affairs, and to induce him to shew pity to his good Subjects, into Prison ; where they both perished, by what means was not known ; and besides, he seized both their Estates. In truth, after long consultation it was resolved, *That the first Legal Pretence that should be offered, should be taken to bridle these Provinces, that they might so be brought into the new form of Conquered Kingdoms, and be put under other Laws : They pretended also, that it was impossible without this to keep these Countries in the Roman-Catholick Religion, because they were on all sides surrounded with Heretick Countries, and relied very much upon their Civil Privileges and Liberties ; and this reason was very much pressed upon the King's Conscience by the Fathers of the Inquisition.* So that these Countries were doom'd to Slavery and Oppression, as the only means to preserve Popery, which can never thrive in a free enlightened Countrey : And their case was perfectly like ours ; for we too of late were to be Conquered, and our Laws changed for the same end.

It was observed with great wonder on all sides, That when they took so many,

The Breakers many, and punished so severely those
of Images that had pull'd down and destroy'd the
not put upon Images, there was not one of them to
it by the Re- be found, that would confess that they
formed.

The use Spain
designed to
make of this
Disorder.

**The Char-
acter of the
Duke of
Alva.**

that had pull'd down and destroy'd the Images, there was not one of them to be found, that would confess that they had been put upon this, or persuaded to it, by those of the Reformed Religion ; but they all said it proceeded from *an Impulse upon their minds, of which they could give no account* ; But however, in Spain it was resolved to take the opportunity of these Troubles, to bring under and subdue all these Provinces, and to deprive them, by way of Punishment, of all their Privileges and Liberties ; and altho all was quiet in the beginning of the year 1567, yet they were not satisfied with the Punishment of the particular persons that had offended, but resolved to extend their Revenge to all the Provinces, and to those of their own Religion, as well as to their Opposers : And to fulfil this Bloody Tyrannical Resolution, the *Duke d' Alva* was chosen, a man of great Experience in Warlike Affairs, and well acquainted with these Countries, and of a merciless violent Temper. The *Inquisition and Clergy of Spain* opened their Treasures, and furnished the King liberally with Money also, for they looked upon this

this as an *Holy War*, and hoped to make it the dawning to a general Destruction of the Protestants. This Duke arrived at *Brussels* the 22d. of *August*, 1567. with 8678 *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot, and 1600 Horse ; and 12000 *German* Horse and Foot ; tho all was quiet, and no opposition to be feared, if they he brought with him did not cause it : He concealed a great part of his Commission ; yet what he produced of it, went very much beyond that which had been given to the Regent that now was recalled and discharged of the Government. The Duke usurped presently an *Absolute and Uncontrollable Authority* ; and having appointed a Council of Twelve *Bloody Men*, he disposed of the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, of all States and Conditions, contrary to their Laws, without any Appeal, Reformation, or Revision of his Sentence. He proceeded to that height of Cruelty and Tyranny, that Nine of the Twelve left the Council out of pure shame , and went home : For he had obtained from the King before he came thither, a Full, Absolute, Sovereign Authority, which was not bounded by any Laws or Instructions,

He comes in-
to Flanders.

The Coun-
cil of Blood
settled.

and

and was not to be contradicted by any body : Which was contrary to all the Laws of that people, and to the King's Oath and Promise ; but he relied upon his Forces, and was not at all concerned what men thought or said of him. Amongst the Eighteen Rules which the Council of Blood prescribed to themselves to judge by, these were some.

Their Rules.

1. All Petitions made by the States, Cities, or Nobility of the Land, against the New Bishops and the Inquisition, or to have any of the Placaets made by the King or Council moderated, were Conspiracies against God and the King.

2. That all the Lords, Nobility, and Governors, that had not appeared against the Petitions, Preachings, and breaking down of Images, are guilty of the same Crime, tho they appeared discontented at them, and ashamed.

3. And all those that took the Proceedings of this Court for Tyrannical, Unjust, or Illegal.

The Counts
of Egmont and
Hoorn the
first they sei-
zed.

The First this Council began with, was Count Egmont, the Count Van Hoorn, and Anthony Van Straaten, Bur- gomaster of Antwerp, who were trea- cherously

cherously summoned to a great Council, and there Arrested by the Order of the *Duke d' Alva*, the 9th. of September, 1567. which put the Countrey into such an affright, that all degrees of men fled into all the Neighbour Countries ; but however, they went on, and filled the Prisons with the remainder, and such as they hapned to take ; and it was observed, that they had before-hand taken good care to Repair, Strengthen, and enlarge these places ; yet in some places they were broken up, and the Prisoners discharged by Force. Having spent the rest of this year in Ruining and Attainting the Nobility, they in the year 1568. began to Perse-
cute the meaner sort of people, citing And after
Thirty, Forty, or Fifty at a time, out them vast
of every City in the Provinces, to ap- numbers of
pear before this Council ; and upon the meaner
their not appearing, (as none but the Inhabitants.
Imprisoned durst), they seized upon their Estates, and confiscated their Goods to the King's use : Thus they dealt with the Rich ; but as for the poorer people, they took them up and hang'd them, without any more Ceremony. They pretended by this Violence to enrich the King, and to establish the Romish Reli-

Religion ; but they frightened away the people, alienated their hearts from him, and drove many *Roman-Catholicks* into Protestant Countries, where they embraced that Religion they had only a moderate opinion of before. To remedy a part of these Inconveniences, they published an Order, That whosoever harboured or assisted any person that was fled, or held any Correspondence by Letters or otherwise, should be thought guilty of the same Crime ; and that any Ship that carried off any of their Goods, or any Wagon or Boat that furthered their Escape, or conveyed away their Goods, should be forfeited.

These Proceedings alarm all the Protestants in *France*, and in *Spain*, and Queen Elizabeth.

The noise of these Proceedings alarmed all the Protestants in *France*, and was the principal Cause of the renewing the War there ; of which I have already given a short account. Queen *Elizabeth* was a sorrowful Observer of all these Tyranical Encroachments on the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of her Neighbours ; and such as fled into *England* from the bloody and outrageous treatment of the Duke of *Alva*, and the *Spaniards*, found here in *England*.

land a secure Sanctuary, and had her They fly in-
leave to settle at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, ^{to England,}
Sandwich, *Maidstone*, and *Hampton*, to ^{and set up} many Manu-
the great Advantage of the *English* Na-
tion, and the great Impoverishing of
the King of *Spain's* Territories, by set-
ting up here the making of *SATE S*,
BATE S, and *STUFFS*, which
the *English* before fetched out of *France*
and *Flanders*. The King of *Spain* would
have no Hereticks (as he call'd them)
and none of his Subjects should have
any Civil Liberties to secure them a-
gainst his Will or Humour : But then
he might have foreseen he should have
lost his *Subjects*, his *Trade*, his *Wealth*,
and he had reason to fear he should lose
his *Country* too ; but he trusted in
Force, and it deceived him ; but no ^{The Conduct} of this Prince
Force could secure the other Three ; ^{considered.}
Men are not like Beasts of Burthen ;
they must be well treated, or they will
flye, or not work, or be poor, or fail,
and the Land become desolate, and not
be able to defend it self. How happy
had *Philip II.* and *Lewis XIV.* been,
if they had but understood this ? The
ignorance of this has ruined many flou-
rishing Empires, I might say all ; and
this is that first Cause of the Ruin of
the

the Ottoman Empire, which has sapped its Foundations, and brought a Consumption upon it, which in a few years will destroy it. Thus also fell the Roman, and all the other Empires, when the fatal time was come. Not that Religion was then the pretence of the oppressing their Subjects, but Oppression is the same thing, and will eternally have the same effect, be the Pretence or Motive what it will. *Emanuel Van Meteren*, in his Third Book of the History of these times, deplored the Loss his Countrey sustained by being deprived at once of all its Trades, and so many of its useful and industrious Subjects, faith, ‘ That there was not less than an Hundred thousand people that then fled into strange Countries to earn their bread ; and the some of these afterwards returned , yet the main body of them never did ; and their Trades were lost to the English and other Nations, who learned them of these people, and exercise them to this day.

The Queen of England seeing the King of Spain was deaf to all her and her Neighbour Princes Entrées and Inter-

Intercessions with him for the mitigating his Sanguinary and Cruel *Edicts* concerning Religion; and that he had set up in the *Netherlands* a *Spanish Inquisition* for the more grievous Torturing the Consciences of his Subjects: That he had denied an Assembly of the States of the *Netherlands*, (which was the only and the usual way of composing their Affairs, when they were in any disorder): That he governed them rather by Arbitrary Orders sent from *Spain*, than by the Laws of the Country, or Councils of the Natives: That he made use of the Tumults which the meanest of the people had fallen into upon the account of the Images, tho' they were presently suppress'd, and that by the Natives, to bring one of the Freest Nations of *Europe* under the intolerable yoke of an Arbitrary Government; turning unjustly the rash Folly and Madness of a few mean people, to the great Damage of this whole Nation, by pretending All that people had rebelled against him, and thereby Forfeited their Ancient Liberties. She saw also that he had sent *Ferdinand Alavares, Duke of Alva*, a Bloody man, to usurp this Arbitrary Government,

The reasons
which mov'd
the Queen of
England to
oppose the
Spaniards.

who

who being no way related to the Royal Family, was now constituted the Supreme Governor of these Provinces, contrary to their Laws, and that he had abolished and suspended the Jurisdiction and Authority of all their Legal Courts, and brought in amongst them a new unheard of *Tribunal*, which had proceeded illegally against several of the Nobility of that Countrey, and condemned them to death, and they had been thereupon executed. That *Spaniſh* Garisons were quartered, and Citadels built in the great Towns and Cities; and the Twentieth Penny of all their Real Estates, and the Tenth of their Personal had been illegally asses'd, and by force levied. She saw also that the *Duke d' Alva* the 29th. of *December*, 1568. had furiously and impatiently seized the Goods and Persons of her own Subjects, and put them into the Custody of his Soldiers, on the pretence of some Moneys stopped in *England*, which belonged to the Merchants of *Genoua*, who had consented to the *Embargo*; and she concluded this enraged man was not content to oppress the *Netherlands*, but would needs make himself a Terror to her and her people

people too; whereupon this Heroick Lady commanded all the Ships and Goods of the *Netherlands* which were in her Ports, to be stopp'd; which were of greater value than those the Duke had been able to find in the *Low-Countries*; whereby she humbled that proud, hasty man, and made him see how little she could fear either him or his Master.

This Action of the Queen's opened the eyes of the poor oppressed people of these Countries, and shewed them the way to deal with their Oppressors was to attack them by Water, and not by Land. They had made several attempts on the side of *Germany*, under the Command of some of their banished Nobility, in the year 1568; and they had been unfortunate in all of them. *Louis Van Nassau*, Brother of *William Prince of Orange*, tho' he had 7000 men, Horse and Foot, and was a good and a prudent Commander, and had taken all the care that was possible to prevent Misfortunes, yet he was defeated neab *Emden*. The Prince of Orange, who followed after, was in a short time forced to retire into *France*, and he had

The Inhabitants of the
Netherlands
follow the
Example of
Q. Elizabeth.

1500 then under him. The two next years he serv'd the Prince of Conde in France; and in the year 1569. he took up the Resolution to grant Letters of *Mercy* to all that would put out Ships to Cruise against the Spaniards in the Low Countries; the *Heer Van Dohain* being Admiral, who in that year took, and spoiled, and ransomed many Ships. This good success encouraged more in the year 1570. to take this course; and as they grew stronger and more numerous, so they had better success. In 1571. they set upon the Fleet that was going to Spain, and took and plundered a great part of it in the Texel. The Duke of Alva sent out some Men of War against these Privateers, but to small purpose, because they were small and too nimble for his great Ships; and Germany and England protected, victuall'd, and harboured them. Whereupon in the year 1571. he sent to the Queen of England to complain of the Harbouring these Pyrates as he called them. The Queen was in no haste to do his business after he had so far provoked her, but in the year 1572. when they were become Rich, and very Numerous, she put out a severe Proclamation

He complains to Q.
Elizabeth of
her Harbouring
the No-
rthland Py-
rates.

tion against them, commanding them to be gone by a limited time, or to be seized in her Harbours; whereupon in March this year they put themselves under the Command of *William Van Marck, Lord Lumey*, to the number of about Thirty Ships or Fly-Boats, well man'd and victuall'd; and these had the good fortune to find the *Briet* without any Garrison, and so they took Possessi-
They seize
the Sea-Ports
of Holland
and Zealand.
on of it without any opposition, the first of April. The eighth of the same month, *Flushing* joined with them, and cast out the few Spaniards were there. And after this, in a short time the whole Provinces of *South and North Holland*, as fast as they could by any means get rid of the Spanish Garrisons, revolted from them, and took up Arms against the *Duke of Alva*, declaring at first for the *Prince of Orange*, as Stadholder to the King of *Spain* in these Provinces. Thus were the Foundations of the Li-
Which was
the begin-
ning of the
United Pro-
vinces.
berties of the United Provinces in the Low Countries, laid in the blood of its Inhabitants, and as heartily at first promoted by the Roman-Catholick Subjects, to preservye their Civil Privileges, as by the Protestants to secure their Lives and Fortunes from the Arbitrary



Violence of the *Spaniards*: So that if
 either of them were Rebels, it was
 because Philip the II^d. would not be
 contented with the same degree of
 Power the former Princes his Prede-
 ccessors had enjoyed; but made use of
 a Ferment the Providence of God and
 his own Cruelty and Imprudence had
 raised in the minds of his Subjects,
 to enslave the Innocent and the Guilty.
 And altho he made Religion his Pre-
 tence, yet Ambition and Worldly
 Greatness, and the subduing his own
 People and all his Neighbours, was
 the Real Motive at the bottom. I
 conclude therefore, That he was a Ty-
 rant, and a Perfidious Man; and his
 Subjects that revolted from him upon
 such horrid Provocations, and after they
 had done all that was possible to bring
 him to better courses, were no Rebels.
 I cannot here but observe how frequent-
 ly and passionately of late the *Holland-*
ers were called Rebels and Traitors
 here; by a sort of men who were going
 to act upon us all the ill things the *Spa-*
niards did there; but wanting Num-
 bers, they were forced to go slowly on,
 and had great thoughts of heart, that
 our Doctrine of Non-Resistance might
 fail.

fail them when they stood most in need of it to bind up our hands till they should cut our Throats ; and therefore they declaimed furiously against these *Hollanders*, to fright us into the snare. But certainly the man must be very silly, that would at all regard the being called a Rebel by the *Roman-Catholicks*; or part with all that is valuable, to avoid that Reproach from such men of all others.

But to return from this Digression concerning the Cause of this War : The Queen seeing her Neighbours in the *Netherlands* thus oppressed by the Savage Tyranny of the Duke *De Alva*, and so injuriously exhausted by his Arbitrary and Illegal Exactions, Prosecutions and Murthers , and all the other Calamities of an unjust War ; and the distressed Inhabitants of these Provinces flocking in great numbers into her Kingdom, to shelter themselves from the Af-fronts, Assassinations, Pride and Cruelty of this Enemy and Executioner, with all they could bring away with them, she opened her Ports to receive them, and with great compassion heard their bitter Complaints, whilst they

Q. Elizabeth undertakes the Protection of her oppressed Neighbours.

deplored the Miseries of their Country, and begged her Protection, pursuant to the Treaties and Leagues between England, and the House of Burgundy. She always expressed a great regard for those Nations and Countries that lay near hers, and were by Leagues united to her; and she was the more affrighted for this People, because she saw the extirpating the Protestant Religion, was made the Pretence of one of the most flagrant Injuries that was ever offered to a Free People: And therefore she was the more easily induced to deliver these her nearest Allies out of the Jaws of this Pyrate and Enemy of Mankind; and to curb the Insolence of these Spanish Forces, that from all quarters were poured in upon these miserable Countries, to enslave and destroy them. She thought there was nothing in this world which so well became the Majesty of a Prince, and tended more to her Reputation and Glory, than the taking Arms against such men as these, and in the Defence of such Supplicants, to deliver them at once from the most intolerable Dangers, and from Slavery. It is very probable she would for a longer time have dissembled the Injuries the

King

King of Spain had done to her and her Subjects, if he would have mitigated his Rigors in the Low Countries ; but seeing that was not to be hoped for, she resolved to put a stop to his Rage by Force ; and for the Glory of God, and the common Safety of the Protestant Interest, to assist the *Netherlands* with Men, Money, Arms, Ammunition, and whatever else was necessary to keep them out of the hands of their Oppressors. She neither feared the Greatness of Philip the II^d. nor the Threats of France, nor the Secret and Treacherous Machinations and Plots of her own Popish Subjects at home ; nor the Hazards, Expences, or Calamities of a very dangerous and lasting War abroad, with the Richest and most Potent Princes in her Times ; but putting her sole Trust and Confidence in the Providence and Protection of God, she cheerfully and undauntedly entered the Lists with these men, that her Neighbours and Friends, Confederates and Allies, might enjoy their Ancient Liberties and Privileges, their beloved Countrey, their Estates and Fortunes, and the Liberty of their Consciences, and live happily. She thought no Labour, no Danger, no Ex-

pence too great to be hazarded, to obtain so great a Blessing for them; but went through all that stood in her way, with Courage, Equanimity, Fidelity, and Constancy: By which she acquired an Immortal Glory, and is still esteemed the Deliverer and Preserver of this People, and in truth of the whole Protestant Interest in *Christendom*. The Kings of *France* and *Spain* in the mean time threatned to expel her out of her Kingdoms; and promoted Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* to that end against her; but there happened such dreadful Civil Wars in both their Kingdoms, that they were very much disabled from prosecuting these Designs to the degree they intended. And she for her part was not wanting, but sent her Forces both into *France* and *Flanders*, to find these two Monarchs work at home, and by kindling Fires in their Kingdoms, prevented their laying her own in Ashes. Thus at the same time she delivered *Britain* from the fear of a War with *France* and *Flanders*; and whilst she protected her Oppressed Neighbours, she preserved her own Subjects from an intolerable Foreign Servitude. Thus she preserved *England* for

for ever from the Danger of a *Spanish* Invasion and Conquest, upon which they were then bent, and flew vast numbers of their best Commanders and Forces both by Sea and Land.

France, for the first Thirty Years of *French Affairs*. her Reign was perpetually involved either in an actual Civil War within its own bowels, or enjoyed an uneasy and a suspected Peace; so that this Kingdom was never so quiet, as to be able to look abroad, and give any disturbance to its Neighbours. The Protestant Party was strong and numerous, and every day grew greater, and was headed by the Princes of the Royal Family of the House of *Bourbon*: And the Popish Party on the other side was the far greater Party, and was headed by the Royal Family that was in Possession of the Crown of *France*: So that *Henry II.* and *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* his Sons, who were all successively Kings of *France* one after the other, did all that was possible, by Wit and Policy, Force, Perfidy, Wars, Massacres, Breach of Faith, and Surprises, to extirpate this Party; and when all was done, the End of Seven Civil

Civil Wars one after another, was a Toleration; and the End of every Toleration, but the last, was a Civil War, began by the Popish Party, upon the Principle, *That no Faith was to be kept with Hereticks*; which Maxim was so often alledged, either by way of Excuse, or by way of Incitement, or Justification, that nothing but the Weakness of the Protestant Party could possibly have induced them to accept a Security, which had been so often forfeited, and which they were certain would last no longer, than till the Popish Party were in a condition to break it. And yet the keeping of the Seventh, that was granted by Henry the IVth. in the year 1596. did them more damage than the breach of all the other Six that went before it; because by its long duration it disarmed and effeminated that Party, and robbed them of their Fears, their Martial Courage, and that keen Zeal for their Religion, which the Perfidy and Violence of the former Times had kept alive. We desire Peace and good days; but God who knows our temper, and what will follow very often, sends us Troubles for our good, which like Physick keeps us alive, tho' it doth not please us.

In

In the year 1565. there was a secret League made at Bayone, between the Crowns of France and Spain, which was called, *The Holy League*, because chiefly designed for the extirpating the Protestant Religion out of France and Flanders; tho' it was managed with all the Privacy and Secrecy that was possible, yet the suspicion of the Protestant Party gave them the first hint to dive into it; and within a little time it was discovered both by its effects, and by the cross Interests of many of the Roman-Catholicks, who were to be deprived of their Civil Privileges, in lieu of having their Religion established and preserved. This gave the occasion to all those fearful Commissions in Flanders, which I have just now related: And in France there followed a Civil War in the year 66. another in the year 1568. which in the year 1572. was ended by a Treaty of Marriage between Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, Head of the Protestants, and Margaret Sister of Charles the IXth then King of France. Here the Roman-Catholick Party played their last Card, and with a Diabolical Perfidy and Cruelty which has no Example in Sacred or Prophane History.

A Private League between France and Spain against the Protestants.

History, and Massacred vast Numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry of the Protestants, who were come to *Paris* to see the Marriage, not being able to suspect a Court could be so base as to stain it self in so Treacherous a manner with the blood of men who relied upon their Faith. The next year after *Charles* died ; and *Henry* the III^d. his Brother, who had been a great Actor in the Massacre, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *France* : Under him the *Holy League*, as it was called, went slowly on ; and he was not so forward to involve his Kingdom in War and Blood, as the weaker Princes, his Brothers had been ; but he was rather inclined to destroy them insensibly by the Arts of Peace, as it came afterwards to be done ; but this Method was disliked by the *Popish Party* in *France*, which is for the most part Fiery and Cruel, and will never use slow and gentle ways, but when it is impossible they should do otherwise. Hereupon the

The D. of Guise, a Valiant, but very Factious Gentleman, began in the year 1576. to set up himself against his Prince ; and in the year 1584. he got himself declared Head of the *Holy League*

Henry III. suc-
ceeds in
France.

League against the King his Master, as a Favourer of Heresie, by Gregory the XIIIth. then Pope of Rome, and a great part of the bigotted and discontented Clergy and Nobility of France: Whereupon in the year 1585. followed the Seventh Civil War in France, upon the Pope's Excommunicating the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, for Heresie. This last War was began by the Popish Party, against the opinion, and without the consent of Henry King of France; and accordingly it thrived, the King of Navarre beating them in the Battel of Courtay, in the year 1587. After which Victory, the King was desirous to have a Peace, and the Guises and the Popish Party to continue the War: And upon this the Roman-Catholick Party subdivided it self into two Factions, part siding with the King for a Peace, and part joining with the Guises to carry on the War, and depose this King as a Favourer of Heresie, softned with Pleasures, and unfit for Government.

The Duke of Guise was a younger Branch of the Family of Lorrain, which is esteemed the Direct Heir of the House of Guise. An Account of the House of Guise.

of *Charles the Great*, and consequently it has a Pretence to the Crown of *France*, which is foreclosed by nothing but the too great Antiquity of the Claim, and the Weakness of that Family. *Alexander III.* the then King of *France*, was become the last of the House of *Valois*, and thought unfit for Generation; and upon his Death, the Crown of this Kingdom was to devolve to *Henry King of Navarre*, who was the Head of the Protestant Party; and all the Family was in the same Interest, but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was a very old Gentleman; so that if things were suffered to go quietly on, the Death of *Henry III.* would put the Protestants of *France* in Possession of the Throne in the Person of *Henry IV.* This was the true ground of that dreadful Revolution, which shook the Foundations of the *French Monarchy* and Nation. They considered, that if a Protestant Prince was once quietly settled in the Throne, nothing but a Miracle could preserve the Roman-Catholick Religion in *France*; and they durst not trust an Event to the Providence of God, and the Reasons and Consciences of men, which in all probability would put

put an end to the Romish Religion in France; and so weaken it in all the rest of Europe, that it would never be in a condition to make use of Force more, against those that had forsaken it; so The Reasons why Hen. III. was to be Deposed, and Henry IV. Excluded.

the Design was laid between the King of Spain, the Pope, and the Duke of Guise, That *Henry the IIId.* should be Deposed, and turned into a Monastery, as *Chilperick* was; and *Henry the IV* should be excluded as an Heretick recanted, and Excommunicated, and a new King of France should be chosen; and then each of these Heads of this League hoped to make their own Market in the end. *Henry the IIId.* saw all this, and to save himself, in the year 1588. called an Assembly of the Three Estates of France at Blois; but finding the greater part of his Subjects, by the procurement of the Papish Clergy, inclined to join with the Duke of Guise against him, he ordered *Henry Duke of Guise*, and *Charles his Brother, Cardinal of Lorraine*, to be both Assassinated by his Guards; and secured many of their Friends; but the Duke of Maine, another of the Brothers of the Duke of Guise, escaped the slaughter, and thereupon almost the whole Kingdom of France

France revolted, and took up Arms against him under the Duke of Maine; so that he had no way to save his own Life and Crown, but to call *Henry King of Navarre*, and his Protestant Subjects, to his Assistance against these his enraged Catholick Subjects, who were now become his implacable enemies. Being thus in a condition to have forced *Paris*, and to have driven the Conspirators out of *France*, one *James Clement*, a *Dominican Monk*, stabbed him the first of *August* in his Tent, under the Walls of *Paris*. The House of *Valoise* thus failing in him, when it had enjoyed the Crown of *France* Two hundred and sixty Years, the Right of it fell to *Henry King of Navarre*, of the House of *Bourbon*; but he was suspected by all his Popish Subjects, stoutly resisted by all that were in the League against his Predecessor, and Excommunicated by the Pope, and sorely laid at by the King of *Spain*, who dreaded nothing so much as the seeing *France* in the hand of a Valiant, Wise, Protestant Prince, now his *Invincible Armada* was returned back from *England* with Shame, Ignominy, and Contempt, and such a Loss as *Spain* was never able since to recover. The

Henry III.
Again.

The Queen-Mother of *France*, who had been the principal Incendiary, when she saw the Duke of *Guise* fall in the Assembly of *Blois*, and her only Son in the utmost danger of being Murdered or Deposed, she died with the mere apprehension of the Calamities she had brought upon her own head and Family, before her Son was slain. And as for *Henry the IVth.* the new King of *France*, he saw things in that Disorder and Confusion, that he was forced to raise his Camp, and retreat from *Paris* into *Normandy*, from whence he sent to Queen *Elizabeth* for Succors of Men, Money, and Ammunition. The Queen presently sent *Peregrine Lord Willoughby*, who had signalized his Valour in the *Netherlands*, with Four thousand Men, and Two and twenty thousand Pounds of *English* Money in Gold, which was a Sum which *Henry the IVth.* owned he had never before seen together in Gold at once. *Henry* had beat the Leaguers before these men arrived, contrary to the expectation of all the World; and being thus reinforced from *England*, he pursued his Victory to the Gates of *Paris*, and was in a fair way to have taken

Queen Elizabeth
assists
Henry IV.
with Men
and Money.

P the

the City, but that he did not think it possible, and he was besides unwilling to run the hazard of seeing the Capital City of *France* plundered by his own Army. This tenderness of his at length brought him under the necessity of changing his Religion, to gain the Crown of *France*.

The Spaniards invade
Britagne, a Province of
France.

In the year 1590. the King of *Spain* sent Forces to take possession of *Bretagne*, a Province of *France*, pretending a Title to it for himself; and some of the *English* Courtiers advised Queen *Elizabeth* not to concern her self any farther in the Affairs of that Kingdom, to her great impoverishing, and no advantage, telling her, Charles the *Roy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, used to say, *It would be better for all the Neighbour Nations to have France under Twenty Kings than One*: To which she as stoutly replied, *The Evening of the last Day the Crown of France should see, would be fatal to England*. And the next year she sent a Fleet, and Three thousand Land-men to secure that Province out of the hands of the Spaniards. This small Number of men being commanded by Sir *John Norris*, a person of great Experience and

Q. Elizabeth
assists the
French against
these Spani-
ards.

and Conduct, preserved that Province not only from the Dominion, but in a good degree also from the Rapines and Cruelties of the Spaniards. She spent in Three years in these French Affairs, (besides the Gold she sent to Henry the IVth. into Normandy), £26053 Crowns of French Money ; yet she did not burthen her Subjects to pay it, but got it together by her Thrifty Management.

This Queen was wholly intent upon Spain invaded by the English. the humbling the Pride of Spain ; and at the same time she opposed his Greatness, and curb'd his Ambitious Designs in France and the Netherlands , she sent a potent Fleet, and an Army into Spain, in the year 1589, to revenge the Invasion of the preceeding year, and to settle Arthur a Bastard in the Kingdom of Portugal , which was then in the Possession of Philip the II^d. King of Spain : The Army consisted of Eleven thousand Men, and there went in the Fleet Fifteen hundred Sea-men : The Army was commanded by Sir John Norris, and the Fleet by Sir Francis Drake ; They first landed at the Grayne in Galicia without any Opposition ; and the next

The Character of

next day they took the Lower-Town by *Scalado*, but not without the loss of a great many men: And here they found a vast Magazine of Gunpowder and Maritime Stores, which was brought hither for another Expedition

Robert Earl of Essex stole away from the Court, and served as a Volunteer in this Expedition.

Robert Earl of Essex gave proofs of his Martial Inclinations, for he stole away from Court without the Queen's Leave, she being unwilling to venture any of her principal Nobility in so dangerous an Undertaking as this seemed then to be; but this brisk young Gentleman, on the contrary, despising the soft Pleasures of a Court, greedily embraced this opportunity of Revenging the Wrongs of his Countrey, and set Sail after the Fleet in a single Ship, and he had the good fortune to fall into the *English* Fleet, after they had left the *Groyne*, and were going to attack *Lisbon*, wherein they had not the same success, by reason their Forces were too small, and the Fleet was kept at too great a distance to relieve the Army, which was forced to march about Sixty Miles by Land; but however, they took the Towns of *Paniche* and *Chascas*, and brought out of *Spain* One hundred

hundred Great Guns, and about Sixty Ships, sent by the *Hanse* Towns in *Germany*, loaded with Corn, which went round about *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by the *Vergivian* Ocean, to avoid being intercepted by the *English*, the Queen having before warned those Cities, That if they sent any Provisions or Ammunition into *Spain*, she would treat them as Enemies. Besides all these, they brought back with them a very rich Prey in Householdstuff, Money, and Plate, which they gathered in that Kingdom; but the most considerable advantage, was the intercepting all the Stores which had been gathered for a second Expedition against *England*, (the Design of which was after this laid aside), and the discovering the Weakness of the *Spaniards* when they were set upon at their own doors; so that after this time the *English* despised this before so formidable Enemy, they having with so small an Army marched so many Miles, and taken so many places in two of the best peopled Provinces of that Kingdom.

In the year 1591. *Robert Earl of Essex* was sent into *Normandy* with Four

P 3 thou-

The Actions thousand English, to Assist Henry the IVth. in the Reduction of Roan; where before that City he lost his Brother Walter, who was slain by a Musquet: This was so far from terrifying this Noble Earl, that it was with wonder observed by the French, that he exposed his own person the more freely, that he might take all opportunities to revenge his Death. After this, in the year 1596. the Queen sent him her General again into Spain; the Fleet which consisted of One hundred and fifty Ships, (being partly English, and partly Dutch) was commanded by Charles Lord Howard, Admiral of England; and the Land-Forces, which were about Seven thousand and three hundred men, were to be commanded by Essex and Howard, as Joint-Generals, Essex having the Precedence on Shore, and Howard at Sea: They came before Cadiz the 20th. of June, but did not attempt to Land while the 22^d. and then they took the Town on the first Assault by the Cowardise of the Spaniards, which paid Five hundred and twenty thousand Ducats for its Ransom. There was Two Millions more offered for the Redemption of the Ships in Port Royal, but

Cadiz taken
by the English.

but it was refused by the Admiral, he saying, He was sent to Burn, and not to Ransom the Spanish Navies. The Spaniards confess they lost in the Sack of this Town, in Ships Taken and Burnt, in Canon Taken and Sunk, and in Stores, and Ammunition, and Victuals, above Twenty Millions of Ducats. The Magnanymous Earl of Essex was for keeping the Town and Island, and he offered to do it with Three hundred men, and Three Months Provision for them ; but the rest of the Commanders who had enriched themselves, were for returning, and so he was forced to return much against his will, the 5th. of July, when he had got little but a Noble Library, which he chose out of that Rich Spoil. The Spaniards observed, ‘The English in this Sack shewed themselves to be Hereticks by their Contempt of their Religious Houses and Places ; but in all other things they behaved themselves with great Valour, Prudence, and Generosity. The Noble Earl wou'd fain in his return have attempted the Groyne, St. Andreo, and St. Sebastian, but the rest of the Commanders were against making any other Trial of their Fortune,

The loss the
Spaniard suf-
fered.

tune, believing they had done enough for the Glory and Safety of their Country. This Expedition secured *England* for the Remainder of her Reign against all the Attempts and Fears of *Spain*. In the year 1599. this Earl was made Deputy of *Ireland*, which proved his Ruin, Sir *Robert Cecil* in his Absence being made Master of the *Wards*, tho the Queen had promised him that Office, and he depended upon it as that which was to repair his Estate, shattered in her Service; whereupon he came back without her Leave, and the next year after was beheaded for Attempting to Raise an Insurrection in *London* against the Court.

The Affairs
of *Ireland* in
her time.

To pass from these Foreign Affairs to others that were of nearer concern to *England*; there was in all her days a Destructive and most Chargeable War continued against her in *Ireland*. The *Irish* Nation have ever since it was subdued by the *English*, born an implacable hatred to the Conquerors, which neither Marriages, nor Benefits, nor Losses, nor Time it self has been able to extinguish: But when in her time the Religion of *England* was changed, and the

the general Body of the *Irish*, and a great part of the old *English* Families persisted in the Popish Religion ; there was by that means a new Ferment added to their restless and unquiet spirits ; so that there was nothing to be heard of from thence, but frequent and perfidious Rebellions, which were the more dangerous and lasting, because they were excited by the Pope's Bulls, whom the *Irish* reverence above all other Nations ; and supported and carried on by Spanish Counsels, Money, and Forces : Yet however, the Queen did never think it her Interest to make a sharp and a concluding War upon them, because this was not possible to be done, without being grievous to her People of *England*, whilst she was forced to spend such prodigious Sums of Money in the *Netherlands*, and *France*, as would have made an effectual War in *Ireland* insupportable. She took care in the mean time to send over thither the Best and Wildest of her States men and Sword-men, as her *Deputy-Lieutenants* ; and she sent them such Supplies of Men and Moneys as enabled them from time to time to keep the *English* Pale in good order, and to hinder the *Spanish* Party from

from growing more Potent in the North, than was convenient to consume his Forces, and divert him from nearer and more dangerous Attempts ; and by her Generals and the Forces she sent over, she wasted and consumed the Forces of the *C L A N S* and great *Irish* Lords, and by degrees brought the Wild and Barbarous *Irish* from the former way of living more like Beasts than Men, in Woods and Mountains, to the living in Populous and well-govern'd Towns and Villages. She taught them to leave off their barbarous cruel Customs, and to live soberly and according to Law ; to forsake their wild ways of Diet and Cloathing, and live more Civilly, and like the *English*. The Northern Province of Ulster was the first that Rebelled, the Scots and the Islanders in great Numbers posseing into that Province ; whereupon *Sir O Neale* in the year 1563. took up Arms against his Sovereign, instead of feeding to her for Assistance to drive out these Foreign Enemies : He was first Reduced by the Earl of *Suffolk*, and forced to come into *England* to beg Pardon of the Queen : The next year he broke out again, and was reduced by

Ulster the first Provence that Rebelled against her.

Sir

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy; and in 1565. he perished in a drunken Fray by the Macdonnels, to whom he fled for Succour and Refuge. This *Shan O Neale* was so wicked and debauched a Villain in all his Actions, that all men approved of the Revenge Macdonnel took of so false and perfidious a man, that had done many Wrongs to them and their Families, as well as to the English. The Macdonnels were Scots, and of the number of the Islanders that had settled in this Province of Ulster. This Execution hapned the 2d. of June, 1567. Mr. Cox writes their Names, *M A C - CONE L.*

In the year 1564. there hapned a Quarrel between the Earls of Ormond and Desmonde, which came to a Battel between them at *Affane*, in the County of Waterford. The next year they went over into England together to implead each other before the Queen, who of the two was most inclined to favour Desmonde. In 1566. they returned, and Desmonde took the Field with Two thousand men to join *Shan O Neale*, as was pretended, but in truth to Revenge his Quarrels on the Earl of Ormond, who defeated him and

A Quarrel
between Or-
mond and Des-
mond.

and all his Forces near *Dromelin*; and in the close of that year the Lord Deputy *Sidney* took *Desmond* Prisoner, and at *Limerick* tried him for High-Treason, and he was found Guilty, and committed to Prison, and his Brother *John* was Knighted, and made Earl of *Desmond*. This Quarrel was at first a personal private Feud between these Two Potent Families; but in the year 1568. some Laws having passed in a Parliament, which displeased the Great Men, they took up the pretence of Religion to draw in the People; and the Pope entred into it, and the King of *Spain* was solicited to send Forces by the Earl of *Desmond*'s younger Brother, Titular Bishop of *Casbil*: Thereupon the Lord Deputy began the War this very year, and defeated Two thousand of their men near *Kilkenny*, with the loss of one single man. The Earl of *Ormond* was then in *England*, and went into *Ireland* to reclaim his own Brothers, who joined with *Desmond* in this Revolt, which was designed to subvert the Government, and clear the Country of all English Men, and English Laws.

In the year 1569. Pope *Pius Quintus* Excommunicated the Queen, and deprived her of all her Dominions; and this had such effect upon *Ireland*, that there was no quiet to be looked for in that Kingdom to the end of her days: But yet by the year 1571. Sir *John Perrot*, Governor of *Munster*, brought that Province into Peace. The King of *Spain* was slow in meddling with the *Irish* Affairs, and sent them little or no Supplies till the year 1578. which was Ten years after they began to treat with him for his Assistance. This year one *Stukely* an *English*-man was sent by *Gregory XIII.* Pope of *Rome*, and the King of *Spain*, with Eight hundred *Italian* Soldiers; but he went with *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, into *Africa*, where he and his men perished with that King.

In 1578. Sir *William Drury* was Sworn Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the 14th. of September. The same year James *Fitz Morris* after he had Sworn Allegiance to the Queen before Sir *John Perrot*, went into *France*, and failing of any Supplies, from thence he went into *Spain*, where he obtained a few Men,

The Pope
and King of
Spain inter-
ested in the
Irish War.

Men, and some Money ; and in July, 1579. he landed Eighty Spaniards at Damerwick in *Kerry*, where he built a Fort, and *Sanders* the Pope's Legate Consecrated the ground ; but the *English* took the three Ships for all that, and put the *Spaniards* into a wonderful fright : The *Desmonds* joined with these Rebels, and soon after, a great many of the old *English*, who professed in the Roman-Catholic Religion ; which was in a great degree owing to the smallness of the *English* Forces in *Ireland*, the Army being then but about Six hundred men. Sir *William Drury* sickened and died ; and Sir *William Petham* was chosen in his Place by the Council, and Sworn the 1st. of *October*, 1579. who was succeeded by

Arthur Lord Grey, Baron of Wilton, Sworn the 14th. of *September*, 1580. He took the Fort above-mentioned, and put all the *Spaniards* to the Sword, which much displeased the Queen, tho' the Deputy alledged, That he could not keep them his Prisoners, the Army was so small, and the Numbers of his Enemies were so great. The Deputy went on with small Forces, and an In-
vincible

viable Resolution and Industry, defeating and reducing them so often and so strangely, that at last they got him represented to the Queen, as a Bloody man that regarded not the Lives of the Subjects any more than the lives of Dogs, but had Tyrannized with that Barbarity, that there was little left for the Queen to reign over, but Carcasses and Ashes. The Necessity of the Times had indeed made him severe; but he had shewed much more Mercy to the Irish than either they deserved, or was consistent with the Queen's Interest, or the Safety of the English that were in Ireland; however in the midst of his Victories he was recalled in August 1582. The next year the miserable Earl of Desmond was taken in a Cabin in a Wood, and slain unknown by an Irishman, and his Head sent over into England, and set on London-Bridge: His Name was Gerald, and he was the Fifteenth Earl of that Family; and with his Life ended this Rebellion in Munster. The Queen was however a Lady of that Generous Mercy and Compassion, that she was heartily concerned for the Bloods of these miserable Wretches who fought hers, and her Protestant Sub-

The Deputy
for his good
Service, slan-
dered in Eng-
land.

*The Character of
Subjects Ruin with an Hellish and Im-
placable Fury.*

The difficulty of Admin-
istering Justice and
Mercy sea-
sonably.

The distributing Mercy and Justice with Prudence, is the hardest Task a Prince has ; and in truth there is none but God that can pretend to do it always well ; because he alone knows both the truth of all mens actions, the ends and designs of them, and the tempers of the Agents as to the present and the future : But Princes are often deceived in one or more of these, and so spare or punish, when they should not : Besides, they are subject to the same Passions other men are, and by them they are mis-led when the thing is plain. It is better, generally speaking, to be too Merciful, than too severe : But when it is known once that a man will be so, it ruins more than it can save ; and too much, exposeth the Innocent. Mercy to Multitudes and mean people is always seasonable, and the contrary destructive ; but to pardon Great men for two, three, or four Rebellions one after another, is to proclaim a liberty of doing it impunedly. She was never guilty of this in *England*, but in *Ireland* it was frequently done, and therefore it

it was her own fault that she met with so much trouble; and all her Mercy almost was thrown away, and proved Cruelty to the *English*. Pardon a barbarous Enemy, and you make him insolent; and therefore inexorable Justice, especially upon a relapse, is absolutely necessary; but then this is to be understood only of great Men and of great Crimes, such as *Murder* and *Rebellion*.

In the year 1584. June 26. Sir John Sir John Per-
 Perrot was made *Lord Deputy of Ireland*. rot, Lord De-
puty of Ire-
land. He was sent thither in unquiet
 and dangerous times; and he managed
 Affairs with so much Industry and
 Courage, that he saved *Ireland*, tho' he
 himself fell a Sacrifice to the Malice of
Hatton, the Lord Chancellor of *Eng-*
land. In his time the Queen gave to
 several Adventurers, of the Lands for-
 feited by *Desmond* and his Accomplices,
 574628 Acres. The Proprietors were
 to People the same, and to pay the
 Queen over and besides, 1976*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*
 the year, *Quit-Rent*. To this end she
 invited the younger Brothers of the
English Nation to settle in *Ireland*,
 promising them great Privileges, and
 New Colo-
 nies of *English*
 sent into
Munster.

Q

Land

Land at reasonable Rents. The *Burks in Connaught* hereupon rebelled, but were overthrown ; Seven of Three thousand escaping. Thus things were again reduced into a tolerable good order ; and the dispeopled Province of *Munster* was at once Peopled and Civilized by the *English* ; but the Deputy had no share in it, but it was managed by a Committee ; for he was on ill terms with the Queen, upon the account of some indiscreet passionate words he had dropped ; and which were by the Malice of his Enemies told the Queen, with many invi-
dious Additions.

The Irish complain of the English

The Queen had ordered, *That if any unforfeited Lands were intermixed with those that were forfeited, that the Proprietor should be compounded with to his content, and be bought out, that so the Undertakers might have his Manor intire.* But when this came to be put in practice, there was great and loud Complaints brought to the Deputy, That the Adventurers had unjustly oured many innocent men of their Inheritances, out of covetousness to get their Estates : Whereupon a Proclamation was issued out, Commanding the

the Proprietors to restore what they had unjustly taken ; which with the favour the Deputy shewed to the Ejected Irish by the Queen's Order, put a stop to the Wrong and the Complaints. As he had had no hand in the distribution of these Lands, so he soon made the Adventurers sensible they were to expect no favour from him ; which turned to the advantage of the Irish, but occasioned bitter Complaints from the English against the Deputy, as a Favourer of the Irish rather than of the English : But this Great Man, who was of a Regal Spirit, (and is supposed to have been a Bastard Son of Henry the VIIIth), despised too much the Complaints of his Countrymen, and forced the greatest of the English to fly before his Authority ; and as for the Irish, he made them better than they would otherwise have been both by his Threats and Severity, and by his good Advices ; and by the strength of his Reason he made them understand how much it was for their good to continue firm in their Allegiance to the Queen. This was an hard Task, considering the Capacity and Temper both of the People he was to deal with, and

The English
complain of
the Lord De-
puty.

The Character of
of the Times in which he governed
Ireland.

*Fitz-Williams's
Character.*

In the year 1588. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* was made *Lord Deputy of Ireland*, and continued till the 11th. of August, 1594. He was a Covetous, Unjust man, and laid the Foundations of a great many Troubles to the *English* in after times; but in all his, *Ireland* was tolerably quiet, till towards the latter end of his Government; only the *Irish* took up an Aversion for the *English Government and Sheriffs*; by his means; and *Tyrone* having Six Companies allowed him under the *Queen's Pay*, he changed his men so often, that the whole Countrey became Disciplined men; and he got great quantities of Lead into his Possession, under pretence of building a fine House. In the year 1593. the College of *Dublin* was finished at the *Queen's Charges*, and *Burleigh* was the first Chancellor, and *Usher* the first Scholar in it.

*The College
of Dublin fi-
nished.*

*The English
Colonies
keep Ireland
quiet a while.*

That which made *Ireland* so quiet under *Fitz-Williams*, was the Justice, Prudence, and Valour of his Predecessor,

cessor, Sir John Perrot, which had broken the Power of the Heads of the *Irish Clans*, and so well Civilized and Planted that Kingdom with *English Colonies* and Garisons, that during these Six years there was but Eight hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse maintained, to keep the Natives in quiet. The *Irish* were also so well settled in their Lands, Estates, and Cat-tel, that it was no man's Interest to make any Disturbance: And there was no Foreign Prince that could be brought to join with them, or lend them any Assistance. The *Spanish Armada* in the latter end of the year 1588. lost Seventeen of its Ships upon the *Northern and Western Shores* of this Kingdom, and 5394 of the men in it perished; and tho some of the Popish Natives sheltered some of them, yet they all robbed them of their Treasures, and got what they had for it: And King James of Scotland looked upon himself as the Presumptive Heir of this Kingdom after the Queen, and kept a fair Correspondence with the *English*, and restrained the *Scots* and *Islanders* from joining with the *Irish*: There was a Rumor in *England*, That

Part of the
*Spanish Arma-
da* shipwrack-
ed on the
Coast of Ire-
land.

The Character of

there was a vast Treasure found in the Spanish Ships which perished in Connaught, and Ulster : And Fitz Williams the Lord Deputy made a severe search after it, commanding by a Proclamation all the Spanish Treasures to be brought into the Exchequer for the Queen's use ; and he imprisoned Sir Oliver O'Toole, and Sir John O'Dogherty, two of the greatest men in the North, in the Castle of Dublin, on this pretence, tho they were the best affected to the English, of any of the Inhabitants ; but he could discover nothing, tho he kept the first Two years in Restraine, and the latter all his time, who was discharged by his Successor, and died soon after, being much decayed by the Hardships of a long Imprisonment, and Old Age. But all these ill things done under Fitz Williams, made work for them that followed him.

Hugh Roe
wrongfully
murdered by
the Deputy.

Upon the Death of Mac Mahon, who was one of the Heads of an Irish Clan, and had not long before taken a Patent from the Queen for the County of Maghera, to him and his Heirs Male for ever ; Hugh Roe his Brother and Heir, petitioned the Deputy to be settled in his Inhe-

Inheritance, according to the Queen's Patent, and the Laws of the Kingdom; and the *Irish* say it cost him Six hundred Cows to have a Promise of it. And then the Deputy only said he would go in person to do it: But as soon as he came to *Monaghan*, he Imprisoned, Tried, and Condemned *Hugh Roe*, by Military Law, and without any Legal Trial; pretending he had Levied Forces two years before, to distract for Rent he pretended was due to him in the *Ferry*. Hereupon he was hanged, and the County was divided between Sir *Henry Bagnal*, Marshal, Captain *Henlow*, and four of the *Mac Mahons*, under a Yearly Rent; each of these giving the Deputy considerable Bribes, as they said in their Complaint to the Council of *England*. The Deputy denied all this; but it was observed, That from thenceforward the *Irish* loathed *Sheriffs*, and the Neighbourhood of the *English*, fearing the same fate might at one time or other attend them, that had befallen *Hugh Roe*. The Report of this Villany spread it self all over *Ulster*; and the Heads of the *Clans* were greatly terrified and incensed at it, and had

The Character of

close Cabals, wherein they severely taxed the ill Management, Covetousness, and Cruelty of the Deputy.

The Rise of
Hugh O Neale,
Earl of Tyrone.

There was then in Ulster a Great Man, called *Hugh O Neal*, the Son of one *Mathew a Smith*, a Cunning and a Crafty man ; who from his youth had served the Queen in the Wars : In *Desmond's* Rebellion he had done the Queen good service, and got much Reputation both for his Courage and Industry : The Queen on the other side protected this poor obscure Gentleman against the Malice of the *O Neals*, who hated him as the Enemy to their Nation ; and she advanced him from an abject and mean Condition, to great Honour, and made him Earl of *Tyrone*, for his Merits and Deserts. He became intoxicated with his too good fortune, and ungratefully and madly design'd to ruin her that had made him what he was ; and now nothing would serve him, but he would needs be King of *Ulster* ; and to that end he assumed the Title of *O Neale*, and cast off all Respect and Allegiance for the Queen. He disciplined the rude and ignorant *Kerns* after the *English* manner, under the pretence

tence I have before recited ; and in the mean time under hand instilled into them an invincible hatred of the *Eng-
lifh* Religion and Government, calling the first Heresy, and the latter a shameful *SLevery* and Servitude ; by which he disposed them so well to a Rebellion, that almost the whole Nation revolted at once from the Queen.

In July 1591. *Tyrone* was made a County, and divided into Eight Baro-
*Tyrone made a
County ;
which occa-
sioned O'Nan's
Rebellion.*
nies, *Dungannon* being appointed for the Shire-Town ; which with the Authority of *Marshal Bagnal*, so fretted *Tyrone*, that it's believed it occasioned his Confederating this Summer under-hand with the rest of the *Irifh* to defend their pretended Rights, and not to admit Sheriffs into their Counties. The effects of this first appeared in the year 1593. when *O Connor* became trouble-some in *Connaught*, and *O Donnel* and *Mac Guire*, chief of *Fermanagh*, rose in *Ulster* against the Sheriffs, and would have murthered them, but that *Tyrone* pretended to intercede to have their lives spared : This they durst never have done, but that they knew all the Clans in *Ulster* would second them : The

The Deputy, to revenge this Insurrection, proclaimed *Mac Guire* a Traitor, and invading *Fermanagh* he took *Inniskilling*; but upon his withdrawing, the *Irish* returned and drove the *English* he had left, out of *Fermanagh*. During this Tumult, *Tyrone* came thither, as by chance, and asking what the matter was, and what had provoked their Anger against the *English*, he gravely reprehended *Mac Guire*, the Beginner of the Insurrection, and then began feebly to appease the exasperated meaner *Irish* people; tho' in truth he was the first Promoter of all this Disturbance, and did this only to conceal himself, and avoid being suspected by the *English*. Hereupon the Queen recalled *Fitz-William*, who had never been a Soldier, and sent a new Deputy in his stead.

Sir William Russell, youngest Son of *Francis Earl of Bedford*, was Sworn Lord Deputy of Ireland the 11th. of *August*, 1594. Under him this great

Revolution hapned. *Cormock Mac Baron*, *Tyrone's* Brother, about the same time Besieged *Inniskilling*, and defeated 46 *English* Horse, and 600 Foot, that came

came to Relieve it, under the Conduct of Sir Edward Herbert, and Sir Henry Duke; yet Tyrone had the Impudence to come to Dublin, and impose upon the Council, That he had no hand in this Insurrection, tho some offered to prove him a Traytor, which was not then believed. In March, 1595. he broke into a second open Rebellion, notwithstanding all his Oaths and Affe- verations, which in an Irish man are the certain tokens of Treachery and Falshood. Bagnal, his mortal Enemy, thereupon marched against him with 1500 Foot, and 250 English Horse; and Tyrone appeared with 1500 Irish Horse, but retired without attempting any thing; but soon after he appeared with 8000 Foot to second his Horse: Yet this handful of men fought all his Forces, and came off with good Suc- cess, tho they were in great danger of being destroyed, as they had been if the Enemies Powder had not failed in the Action.

In June, 1595. Sir John Norris arri-
ved with Two thousand Veteran Sol-
diers, and One thousand New-raised
men, and with the Title of Lord Ge-
neral

Sir John Nor-
ris sent into
Ireland with
3000 men.

*The Char-
acter of this
Great Man.*

neral of the Forces in Ulster, he being to command absolutely in the absence of the Deputy. The Queen's Design in sending *Norris* with this large Commission was, that he and the Deputy should act with the greater vigor against the Enemy : But then tho *Norris* was an excellent Commander, he was a little too violent, and disdained to be subject to the Orders of the Deputy ; and which was yet worse, disagreed with him in the general method of managing the War , and was very stiff in his opinion besides ; so that much time was spent in useless Contests between these two high-spirited men, which very much prejudiced the Queen's Affairs, and secured *Tyrone*, (who cunningly made use of it) from being supprest in the beginning of his Rebellion.

*The Irish be-
come very
expert in the
use of Arms.*

By this time the Rebels had taken several of the English Forts, and were become so expert in the use of Arms, that they were almost a Match for the English. Sir John Perret to save charges, had armed the Irish in Ulster, against the *Islander Scots*, and taught them the use of Fire-Arms ; and *Fitz-Williams* had

had pursued the same false Measures, and had taken many *Irish* into the *English* Army, and sent others of them into the Low-Countries to be bred Soldiers; and now they were become stout Rebels, to the damage of the *English*. The Deputy having in the mean time spent the Summer in the Field against the Enemy, took care to settle *Connaught* and *Leinster* in the Winter, and finding them much disordered by the Injuries of the Presidents, he heard their Complaints very patiently, and redressed what he found amiss, with much Justice, that he might raise in the people an expectation and hopes of better times to come. And he also levied more Forces, and invited *Tyrone* to come to him to *Dublin*, and sent him a Passport: The Earl came accordingly, being tossed between hopes and fears; and there the Deputy before many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, represented to him the Benefits he had received at the Queen's hands; which he readily acknowledged; pretending, *That he had on that consideration patiently born the Injuries of Fitz-Williams Government, and the Wrongs done him by Bagnal the Marshal: That he*

Tyrone's Pretences to the Deputy.

he had saved the English from the Fury of Mac Guire, and preserved them in the possession of Fermanagh : That his good Actions had been misrepresented, and he had been ill rewarded for them : That he desired nothing more, than to be restored to the Queen's Favour, which he had been deprived of by the flanders of his Enemies. This cunning Defence appeased the Deputy ; and he was resolved to try if he could reclaim him by favours and good usage ; and so he permitted him to return home again. Yet in September of this year he offered the King of Spain the Kingdom of Ireland, if he would supply him with 3000 Men, and a little Treasure. Thus were the Winter of this year, and the Spring of the next, spent in needless and ineffectual Treanies, Tyrone pretending to submit, to gain time ; and at last he was Pardon'd ; but Three Ships arriving from Spain with Powder and 200 men, he refused his Pardon a great while, and when he took it, he us'd it as a cover for his Treasonable Designs. He was always Treating and Rebelling at the same time ; and finding a Discontent between Sir John Norris and the Lord Deputy, he made use of the one against

against the other, and in the mean time surprized the Garisons, and embroiled the Countrey, to the great hazard of Extirpating the *English*. A Treaty with a perfidious man tends to nothing but to make him insolent, and the Government secure to its Ruin: If you never trust him, he can never hurt you. The *English* Council was so weary of these Chargeable Wars, that they dreaded nothing more than a War in *Ireland*: So that it was then a Maxim here, That it were well for England, if Ireland could be sunk into the bottom of the Ocean; but since that was not possible to be done, it had been well if they had gone roundly to work, and sending competent Forces, had pursued these counterfeiting Rebels to utter destruction, not suffering any *Irishman* to have any Eire-Arms.

The Deputy observing that *Tyrone* slighted him, and made his applications offended to *Norris*, to whom he sent Messengers to commemorate his Loyalty and Duty to the Queen, and to beg her Majesties Pardon; he thereupon wrote to the Queen, That he had not been used to Wars, and was unacquainted with the

the Fatigues that attended Insurrections and Tumults : That King *Philip* of *Macedonia* was less terrible to him than a desultory Enemy, and a barbarous *Irish Teague* : That this languid Sedition might be composed without wounds or bloodshed, as some thought, if good men were but sent to treat with the Rebels : That there were those in *Ireland* who had conferred with the Rebels, and had sent into *England* the Rebels Defamations against him and others of her Governors : By which passage the Deputy slyly taxed Sir *John Norris* as one that had done nothing worthy of his former Military Reputation, but thought to work upon the good nature of the *Ulster Clowns* by his Courtship and Flattery ; which tended rather to the making them more insolent. This carriage of the General's was the occasion of fierce Contests and Quarrels between him and the Deputy, and the effect of it was, that not only the Heads of the *Clans* in *Ulster*, but those also in *Connaught* and *Leinster*, took Arms and revolted from the Crown of *England*. The Deputy seeing things by their Divisions brought to so desperate an estate, resolved to get rid of

of the Government, and by his Letters humbly besought the Queen a good General might be sent in his place. In this doubtful time, Sir John Norris as earnestly desired to be Deputy, and that his Brother, who was fitter for the Labours of the War, might be made President of Munster. But he obtained neither of his Requests. The Council of England was divided for some time between the Lord Burroughs and the Earl of Essex, but the latter joining with the former, it was carried for him, and he had both the Supreme Civil and Military Power put into his hands.

The 15th. of May, 1597. Thomas The Lord Burroughs arrived at Dublin, with a Commission to be Lord Deputy of Ireland: With the Supreme Authority, he presently commanded Norris to his Presidency of Munster, which with the disappointment of the Deputy's Place, broke his heart. Johnstonius saith, The reason of this was, because Norris was a person of more Experience in the War, and of greater Fame than Burroughs. So that when he came to Dublin, Norris was no way pleased

R

with

with the change, for that he dreaded the fiery Temper of that Lord, with whom he had formerly had some quarrels, which he would now have willingly sacrificed to the Welfare of his Countrey. But the Deputy was of an Implacable Temper, and commanded him into *Munster*, upon the perit of his life, not permitting *Norris* to see him : This Great and Stout Man could not bear the Affront ; but he that had run through so many Perils in the Field, in the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Portugal* ; he that had despised the Rages of the Duke *d' Alva* in *Holland*, and put a stop to the Victories of the Duke of *Parma*, fell under this, and expired in the Arms of his Brother. Thus he became a wonderful Instance of humane frailty , as well as of Martial Courage ; being rather pitied than approved ; because his Management in *Ireland* was much inferior to what he had done elsewhere, and short of what was expected from him. The Lord Lieutenant died in *November* following ; yet in that short time he beat the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and recovered the Fort of *Blackwater*, and Garison'd it with *English*. Sir *Thomas Norris* was nominated

minated for his Successor, but he was melancholy, and would not accept it ; his Brother the General being just then dead also : Thereupon the *Archbishop of Dublin*, and Sir *Robert Gardiner, Lord Chief Justice*, were sworn the 15th of November, when the Council concluded their Account of the State of the Kingdom, *That it was an universal Irish Rebellion to shake off all English Government.* In August this year Tyrone had the good fortune to rout Marshal Bagnal his mortal Enemy, in a Wood half a mile beyond Armagh, where the Marshal, 13 Captains, and 1500 English Soldiers were slain. The Irish by this Defeat got Arms, Victual, Ammunition, and Reputation, and the Fort of Blackwater ; so that the English were reduced from an Offensive to a Defensive War. This nettled the Queen, and she sent to Ormond, who was Lieutenant-General, to clear the Army of all the Irish, and she sent 2000 Foot and 100 Horse to recruit the Army. Tyrone sent after this 4000 Kerns into Munster, and the President not being able to resist them, by reason his Forces were small, that whole Province rebelled also in October, 1598. and began

The Council
of Ireland re-
present the I-
rish War as
an universal
Rebellion of
that whole
Nation.

Tyrone beat
the English.

to Kill, Rob, and Ravage the *English*, without Measure or Mercy. Thus the Rebellion grew to that height, that it became terrible to the Queen. Tyrone in the mean time sent submissive Letters to the Earl of Ormond, and promised the *Spaniards* that he would accept no Conditions from the *English*, magnifying his Victories beyond all reason and truth: So that now the Courtiers in *England* began to consider, as Mr. Cambden observes, That by long use it was grown to a destructive custom in Ireland, That Rebels and Traitors might with the Money they had gotten from the spoilt English by Pillage and Villany, procure for themselves Protection and Pardon. The Queen was well inclined to have sent the Lord Montjoy into Ireland; but the Earl of Essex pretended to it, and he was chosen. Others say the Council put him upon it, that he might put an end to the Troubles of Ireland, which had been encreased by the Contentions between the Commanders that were employed before, and also by the deaths of Sir John Norris, and that of the Lord Deputy, as well as by the Defeat of Marshal Bagnal: That the Lords cried up the

And at the
same time
treats with
England and
Spain.

The Earl of
Essex sent De-
puty.

the Valour of the *Earl of Essex* to the skies ; and affirmed that there was not in *England* any General who could undertake the Reduction of so far-spread a Rebellion, with that Prudence, Diligence, and Courage, they might expect from him. Thus he was sent thither by the perfidious Commendations of his Enemies, against the opinion of his real and true Friends, that they that put him upon it might when he was there, find an opportunity to ruin him. The Earl on the other side was anxious, and unresolved what to do ; for as he feared the Fate of his Father, who perished in that Kingdom, so he could not tell how to oppose his own Destiny ; and accepted of an Employment which no other durst pretend to, purely to comply with the good opinion of the whole Privy Council, which loaded him with Praises on this occasion, tho in his heart he misdoubted the Event. The Queen also sent him away thicker with great Testimonies of her Affection to him, commanding him excessively for preferring her Service before his own Safety ; but then this was the last good day that unfortunate Earl ever saw.

The Army
under Essex
20000 men.

He landed there the 15th of April, 1599. with 13000 Horse, and 16000 Foot, which were made up 20000, there being more than that number in Arms against the Queen: But with all these Forces he did nothing worthy of his former Reputation, or of his Army: And that Winter he went out of Ireland in a Discontent, without the Queen's Leaye, and returned unexpectedly to the Court, which proved his Ruin. Tyrone grew insolent hereupon, and profess'd publickly he would recover the Liberty of Religion and his Country.

The Lord Montjoy sent Deputy. The Methods by which he ruined the Irish, and ended the War.

Charles Lord Montjoy was thereupon sent *Lord Deputy*, who landed the 24th. of February, 1601. The English Army was then 1200 Horse, and 14000 Foot; and the General finding the Irish Strength was in their Fastnesses, he resolved to ruin them by small flying Parties placed in Garisons; and this way accordingly destroyed them without redress, and they began to talk of submitting, which was not regarded, because all the world saw there was no Truth, Faith, or Honour in this barbarous and false Enemy. From thenceforward

forward many that begged for Pardon were denied it, if they did not bring in the Heads of their Fellow-Traytors, or do some other considerable service to purchase it, which they seldom failed of attempting, and were very often taken by their own Party in the Fact and hanged. The War went vigorously on, and the Rebels were generally beaten in all places till the 23d. of September, 1601. when the *Spaniards* landed at *Kingsale*, and the *English* immediately sat down before it; yet the *Spaniards* (tho beaten in every Sally) defended the Town to the 24th. of December, when there was a general Battel between *Tyrone* and all the Rebels on the one side, and so many of the *English* as could be spared out of the Trenches: *Tyrone* was beaten out of the Field, and he lost 1200 of his men, 800 wounded, and the *English* lost only one Cornet, and six Soldiers: The *Spaniards* knew nothing of the Battel, and made no Sally till it was over, tho the Fight was within one Mile of *Kingsale*; but then they sallied twice to no purpose; whereupon, the 31st. of December, the *Spaniards* capitulated, and delivered up the Town. After this,

The Character of

the War went on so successfully against these Rebels, and they were reduced to such Necessities, that the Parents eat their Children, and three Children roasted the flesh of their dead Mother, and lived upon it twenty days; so that this exceeded the Famine of Jerusalem: The 30th. of March, 1602. Tyrone submitted to Mercy at Mountjoy, begging to be received upon his Knees. Thus ended this most dangerous Rebellion that ever was made in Ireland, before that time, about a week after the Death of the Queen, and before it was known. It had never risen to that height, but for the over-great perverseness of the Queen; for which she afterwards paid very dear, and had not the happiness to see the Traitor Tyrone at her foot before her Death; but however she was sufficiently revenged of all her Enemies, by the Ruin, Famine, Deaths, and Plagues that fell upon them; Heaven favouring her Cause, and blasting all their Undertakings against her. It is very observable, that the main pretence of this Rebellion, was the Preservation of the Roman-Catholic Religion; yet there was then never any Law passed in this Kingdom

*Religion
cavilely
made the
pretence of
the Irish Re-
bellion.*

*The Irish re-
duced to eat
man's flesh.*

*Tyrone sub-
mits.*

Kingdom against it, nor any Prosecution made of those that professed it; but they had a perfect Liberty of Conscience to embrace which of the Religions they pleased; only the Church-Preserments and Reverences were put into the hands of the Protestant Clergy, and the Tythes paid to them; and the Government was generally put into the hands of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry; but so that they were mixed; and they of the other Religion being more in number, were commonly returned on all Juries: So that *Liberty of Conscience will not keep a divided Kingdom always quiet*; but there have ever been men to be found, who are as uneasy when they cannot persecute others, as when they themselves are persecuted. The Charge of this War from the first of October, 1598, to the first of April, 1603, amounted to Eleven hundred fifty eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen Pounds Nineteen Shillings and One Penny, as Mr. Clee assures us; from whence he inferreth how fully the Irish had forfeited the Estates were taken from them; and how reasonable it will ever be for the English in Ireland to contribute

*Liberty of
Conscience
considered.*

bute freely to the maintaining of a good Army for the preserving that Kingdom in Peace.

The Great-
ness of the
Reputation
of the English
Nation in Q.
Elizabeth's
time.

In her time the *English Nation* was at its highest pitch of Honour, Wealth, and Reputation. The Queen was also in the greatest esteem that was possible with all the Neighbour Nations ; because she had delivered *Scotland* from the hated Dominion of the *French* ; and she had after this succoured and supported the *Netherlands* when their Affairs were most desperate ; she had sent vast Treasures into *France* to support *Henry the IVth.* against the *Holy League*, and the King of *Spain* ; and when after all, *Ireland* had been stirr'd up against her, and had made almost a general Revolt under the Command of a false and treacherous Traitor, she had the good fortune to reduce that Kingdom by the Prosperity of her Arms, and the Valour of her Subjects. *Spain* was in her time terrible to all the other Nations in *Europe*, till her Navies afflicted and ruined that Kingdom, by burning their Fleets and Naval Stores at the *Groyne* and *Cadiz*. Her Fame spread it self to the most distant parts

parts of *Europe*; and the *Muscovites* and *Turks*, who were only known by report to the *English* before her happy times, sent Ambassies to her to beg her Friendship, and settle Commerce and Trade with her. The King of *Morocco* and *Fez*, in *Barbary* in *Africa*, sent also an Ambassy to her; so that her Subjects had the pleasure of smiling at the half-naked *Moors*, and the *Russ* who were loaded with *Furs* after the manner of their Countrey. The *Hollander*, *French*, *Poles*, *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Swedes*, and all the other Nations about her, begged her Friendship in times of Peace, her Assistance and Protection in times of War, and on every occasion testified their sense of her Favours, and their Gratitude for the good offices she had done them. She laboured always to unite those Princes who were her Friends and Allies, by Marriages and other such methods; if any Controversie or Difference at any time arose between them, she sent her Letters and her Ambassadors to both the Parties to compose them; and they on the other side did for the most part acquiesce in her Judgment, and yield to her Authority. If

Her Carriage
towards her
Allies a-
broad.

in

in any part of her Dominions the Countrey hapned to become desolate and ill peopl'd, she took particular care to send Colonies thither to supply that defect. She brought her meanest Subjects from an idle, poor, and beggarly way of living, to the practice of good and useful Trades; many of which were brought into *England* in her time by the banished and persecuted *Netherlanders*, to the great benefit and advantage of this Kingdom. She made the Naval Glory of *England* equal to its Military or Land-Service and Reputation. The Bounds of her Fame were not confined to *England*, but extended to the utmost parts of the earth, and the farthest Recesses of the Ocean; for her Subjects in her time passed the Line, and filled all the corners of the habitable world with the fame of this most Celebrated Queen. There was no place in the wide and remotest Ocean, but her Subjects sailed thither with their Merchandise to enrich their Countrey. The English Fleets then first pierced into the vast Bays of the East-Indian Ocean; and they frequented the Philippine Islands, and the South Parts of Asia, and the Eastern Shores of

of Africa. *Drake* and *Cavendish*, in these times went round the Globe of the Earth, and erected every where Trophies to the Honour of their Queen. This last was not only above the hopes, but beyond the thoughts of this Nation, so far they were of attempting any thing of that nature before.

Sir *Francis Drake* was of a mean and obscure Extraction, and born in *Devonshire*, his Father embracing the Protestant Religion in the time of *Henry VIII.* was persecuted for the same, and forced to remove for his greater security into *Kent*, after which he entered Orders, and by Poverty was constrained to bind his Son to the Master of a Ship, who sometimes passed into *France* and *Flanders*. The young Man so well pleased his Master, that he dying unmarried, he gave this Servant of his, his Ship. After this he put himself under Mr. *John Hawkins*, who in the year 1567. was preparing a small Fleet at *Plymouth*, with a design to discover some yet unknown Parts of *America*; but this Voyage was very unfortunate, and the *English* falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, he lost all his

Sir Francis Drake's Original and Story.

his stock, and hardly escaped with his Liberty. After this he became one of the most famous Mariners this Nation has produced ; and by his industry he opened the way to both the *Indies*, which before was not known to the *English*. For about five years after this first Voyage, he preyed as a Pyrate upon the *Spaniards* wheresoever he found them, and could master them ; and having by this means acquired a good sum of Money, he built a stout Ship, which he called the *Dragon*, with which and two Barks he ventured once more in the Year 1572. to visit the Coasts of *America*, and took *Nombre de Dios*, a Town in the Bay of *Mexico*. Here he was informed by the *Negroes* that were Slaves to the *Spaniards* (and were called *Cimarones*) that a vast Treasure in Gold and Silver was to be shortly after transported by Mules and other Land-Carriages from *Panama*, in order to be shipped for *Spain* : These he waylayed, and seized all this Wealth, which proved much more than he could bring away ; so that he was forced to leave the Silver, a great part of which he buried in the Earth, but he got all the Gold on board his Ship ; after which

which he burnt *Sancta Cruz*, a Rich Receptacle of the Merchandises of this Country, seated upon the River *Chiagre*, which falls into the Gulf of Mexico, at *Porto Bello*. This Town of *Sancta Cruz* seems to be that which Mr. Gage in his Travels calls *Venta de Cruzes*, and faith it lies about twelve Leagues from *Panama* to the East, upon the *Chiagre*, and was in his time inhabited by none but *Mulatto's* and *Black-Moors*, who belonged to the Boats that carry the Goods brought thither from *Panama* to *Porto Bello*. Thus far this bold Captain ventured to travel by Land with a small Party of resolute English men, to the great loss and terror of the *Spaniards*; and by the success of it encouraged others to follow him. So that the *Buccaneers*, which in our times have performed such wonderful things in *America*, have only followed him in their Adventures. From the Mountains of *St. Pablo* upon this River he first saw the *Mar del Zur*, or the *Pacifick Ocean*, which washeth the Western Shoars of *America*, and thereupon being strangely possess'd with a strong desire to sail herafter upon that Ocean, he fell down upon his Knees, and

and beseeched God to grant him that favour, vowing to do his utmost for the discovering it ; and from thenceforth he found no rest in his mind night or day, till he had accomplished this Resolution. In the mean time our Great Man having divided the spoil he had taken amongst his followers, with an open hand to all their content, he set sail for *England* with vast Riches. Whilst others gazed on the Gold he brought home with wonder ; He gloried in nothing but that he had seen the *Mar de Zyr*, and thought of nothing but the making Preparations to sail upon it, which the Treasure he had got (for he was now become very rich) furnished him with means to effect, and enabled him to build Ships for that purpose.

The Story
of John Oxen-
ham.

Whilst he was thus employed, one *John Oxenham* a Common Sailor, who had served under him in his former Expeditions, as a Soldier, Seaman, and Cook, and had gained the name of a Captain amongst the Mariners, having scraped together underhand a good stock, took up the same Project, and resolved once more to rob the *Mulatto's*, and

and sail upon that Sea before his Master ; to this end he got a single Ship, and 70 Sailors to venture with him ; and in the year 1575. sailed to the same place ; but hearing from the *Negroes*, that now the *Spaniards* were become so cautious as to send a Guard of Soldiers with their *Caravans*, to guard them from *Panama* to *Porto Bello*, he drew his Ship ashore in a desolate place, and covered it with Boughs, burying his Cannon and Provisions in the earth, and then with all his Company, and six *Negroes* for his Guide, he travelled to a River, which falls into the *South Sea*, where he cut down Timber, and built some Boats, and so passed to the *Island of Pernis* in that Ocean, which lay not far from the Mouth of this River ; where he staid ten days to expect the return of the Ships from *Peru* ; and he intercepted one with Sixty pound of *Gold*, and another with One hundred pound of *Silver* ; and in these Ships he passed back to the River. The News of this being brought to the *Spaniards*, they sent *John de Ortega*, with an hundred Soldiers, to pursue the bold Adventurers ; the River had Three Mouths, and he was doubtful which

to chuse, till the Feathers of the Fowls the *English* had eaten, came down, and shewed him which way they were gone before : The *Spaniards* found the Gold, and the *English* contending about the dividing of it amongst them, but they soon put an end to the brawl, and defended themselves against the *Spaniards*, who were more numerous than they, with great Courage, but many of them being slain in the Fight, the rest were taken, and amongst them *Oxenham* the Captain, and sent to *Lima*, where being not able to produce any Commission from the Queen for the invading these *Spanish* Dominions, he and many of the Mariners were executed as *Pirates*, and the common enemies of mankind.

Drake's second Voyage to America.

Drake, who knew nothing of this Attempt and Miscarriage of *Oxenham*, in the year 1577. the 13th of December, set sail from *Plymouth* with five Ships, and 163 Mariners ; the 16th. of April he arrived in the Mouth of the River of Plate in *Brazil* ; the 20th. of August he arrived at the Mouth of the Streights of *Magellan* ; when he came into the *Pacific* Ocean, he found it

it very turbulent, and was driven by a furious Tempest, in a few days, above a hundred Leagues to the South; and here one of the Ships being separated, returned back again through these Streights into *England*. After this, *Drake* took *St. Jago* in *Chili*, and plundered it, and here he got a Prize with He takes
St. Jago. 400 pound of pure Gold. Arriving at *Turapassa*, he found 13 Bars of Massy Silver, of the value of CCCCC M Ducats, which was left on the ground by some *Spaniards*, who were asleep by it; he took the Silver, and never waked the Keepers of it. From thence he pass'd to the Port of *Arica*, in which he found three Ships without one man in them, but there was 57 Wedges of Silver, each of 20 pound weight, and some other Merchandize which he took. Arriving at *Lima*, he found twelve Ships, but all the Mariners were on shore, and yet in them he had a great quantity of Silk, and a Chest of Minted Silver, which shews how secure from Pyrates this Coast had to this time been. Nor is truth till this time had any other than the *Spaniards* ever sailed upon this Sea, except *Oxenham*. In his journey to *Panama* he took a

Barque without any resistance, that afforded him 80 pound weight of Gold. The first of March he took a Ship called the *Cacofoga*, which had on board 80 pound weight of Gold, and 13 Chests of Minted Money, and as much Silver as ballasted his own Ship; the Master of this Ship told him, That his Ship (*Drake's*) should henceforth be call'd the *Cacofoga*, and the Spanish Ship the *Cacoplata*.

Being thus wonderfully enriched, and, as he thought, sufficiently avenged on the Spaniards for the Loss he had sustained in his first Attempt upon *Vera Cruz*, he began to consider of his return; and not thinking the passage by the Streights of Magellan safe (as in truth it was beset by the Orders of Francis Duke of Toledo, then Viceroy of Peru) he directed his Course Northward to the height of 42 Degrees of North Latitude, to seek a passage; but finding nothing but know and desolate shores, he returned to 38 degrees, and Wintered there, calling the Countrey *New Albion*; and here the naked people chose him for their King, and by their ignorance shewed him plainly the

the *Spaniards* had never been so far that way. In the Month of November he set sail for the *Molucca Islands*; the 9th. of January his Ship stuck 27 hours upon a Rock, but by the blessing of God came off it by a side-wind, which seem'd to be sent of purpose to save this Hero. From thence he passed to the Island of *Java* in the *East Indies*, and so to the Cape of *Good Hope*, which had never been seen before by any Englishman; and Watering at the *Rio Grande* in *Africa*, he arrived in *England* the 3d. of November, 1580. having in this time gone round the *Globe of the Earth*. The People of *England* received him with great Triumph, and a Publick Joy; and the Queen as a Reward of the good Service he had done her against the *Spaniards*, Knighted him, and caused the Ship he had failed in to be laid up at *Depsford*. Mr. Gage, our Countrey-man, who lived some years in the *Spanish Territories in America*, assures us, his Memory is preserved there by the *Spaniards*, who to this day, saith he, admire this Expedition, and teach their Children to fear even his Name. After this the Queen often made him one of her Admirals;

He sails for
the Molucca
Islands.

and he being grown exceeding rich, took diligent care to put out a greater Fleet, and openly assaulted the Island of St. Jago, and took St. Domingo, and Cartagena, and some others in the West Indies, being sent by the Queen with 21 Ships, and 2300 men, in the year 1585. The Towns they took in this Expedition were either so poor that there was nothing of Silver or Gold to be found in them, or they had had such previous notice of the coming of the English, that they had sent away all that was valuable; yet St. Domingo and Cartagena were forced to redeem themselves from Fire by Money; the first gave Twenty five thousand Ducats, and the latter One hundred and ten thousand, which was presently divided amongst the Mariners and Seamen. The Spaniards more regretted the loss of their ships, great numbers being burnt; and this halstned the Invasion designed upon England, which was undertaken in the year 1588: which miscartring, the Spanish Greatness dwindled into nothing; and after the Queen's Death they were glad to send to King James the First, her Successor, to beg a Peace in the first year
of

of his Reign; so the Honour of Reducing Spain was hers, and that of settling Peace, after a War that had lasted so long, his.

The Riches and Fame Sir Francis The Story of Mr. Thomas Cavendish. Drake had acquired in these Maritime Expeditions, encouraged Mr. Thomas Cavendish, a Gentleman of Trimely in the County of Suffolk, to pursue the same methods for the raising his Fortunes, and with them the Reputation and Glory of the English Nation. The 21st of July, 1586. he set out from Plymouth with three ships, the biggest of which was but 120 Tuns, and 123 Seamen, with Provisions for two years. With this small Fleet he passed the Streights of Magellan, and sailed up to the Coast of New Spain in the Mar del Zur, and took 19 of the Spanish Merchant ships, and burnt two or three of their Towns, and then sailing to the Philippine Islands, the Molucca's, and the Cape of Good Hope, he staid some time in St. Helens; and the 9th. of September, 1588. he returned to Plymouth; he having been the second man of this Nation, that went round the Globe of the Earth, with no less Honour,

nour, tho he returned with less Spoils than the first Adventurer. The Queen entertained him at Greenwich, and bestowed upon him many Marks of her Favour, and gave him some considerable Rewards. Sir *Martin Forbisher*, or *Frobisher*, Sir *John Hawkins*, *Davis*, *Jackman*, *Jenkinson*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and many others of the English, employed their time in searching out the remotest parts of the world at the same time to very good effect, there having been great Trades driven ever since by the Dutch and English, by the means of their Discoveries. Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, who lived in these times, took a particular care to collect and publish the Journals of all these Voyages; by which he deserved very well of this Nation; and it is a great pity that his Works are become so scarce, and so little known, and that no man has since pursued the same method; these Discourses being of great use for all Mariners, and serving very much for the enlarging and clearing the Geography of the World.

Philip King of Spain being highly incensed by the ruin of so many of his Towns,

Hackluit records and publishes all the English Expeditions in these and former times.

Philip King
of Spain
highly in-
censed a-
gainst the
English Nati-
on.

Towns, and the losses he had sustained by *Drake's* Expeditions, gave Order that all the *English* Sea-men that should after this be taken in *America*, should be treated like Pyrates and the Enemies of mankind: And all the Merchant Ships that fell into his hands, were seized, and the Merchants imprisoned, tho there was then no open Wars proclaimed; and he laid cunning Designs to ruin the *English* Nation, which the necessity of his other affairs put off from time to time; so that there were Threats of a War, and great Preparations made for it, rather than a War. But when he saw Threats and Anger would not terrifie the *English*, he turned his secret Anger into open War, and entred into a Contention which in the end proved fatal to himself and his Nation: He prepared to that end a vast Fleet of 134 Sail of Ships, so great, so arm'd, and so mann'd, that perhaps the Ocean never bore such another on its proud Billows; there was on board it 20000 Land-men, and 8300 Sea-men, and the Command of it was committed to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, a Person of an exalted Worth and Reputation: One *Martin Recaldo* was, under him,

The Invinci-
ble Armado
in 1588. pre-
pared and
sent to in-
vade Eng-
land.

him, the great Director of the Fleet, being a Pilot of great Experience. This Fleet, which had raised so great an Expectation in the Neighbour-Countries, that it was not doubted but it would not only subdue but overwhelm the little Island of Great Britain, sailed from the Groyne the 12th. of July, 1588. and came within sight of Cornwall, the 19th. of the same Month; whereupon the Beacons were fired, and one Fleming came in with a Scout-Ship, and assured the English Admiral, the Spanish Fleet had been seen by him near the Lizard: The English Fleet was then in the Port of Plymouth, under the Command of Charles Lord Howard, then Admiral of England: And as it was believed the Spanish Fleet would not have come that year, so there was not on board it that number of men that was necessary to man it, and which on the sudden was hardly possible to be got together; but however, the Admiral went first to Sea, and gave the Signal for the rest to follow, and he ranged them in their Order as they were able to get out. The Spanish Ships were very much higher and stronger than the English, and had greater

*Charles Lord
Howard Ad-
miral of Eng-
land.*

greater and more Cannon; but there was four CARRACKS of an excessive Greatness, and which seemed scarce fit for motion, which served instead of Castles to defend the smaller Ships: The English Fleet, on the contrary, was nimble, and very well provided for Fight or Flight, and managed by men that understood the Sea-Affairs wonderfully well; so that they assaulted the Spanish Armado, the 21st. of July, with Dexterity and Courage: The Fight lasted three days without any intermission, and then was intermitted for want of Gunpowder: After this they followed the Spanish Fleet, (which kept its course for Flanders, notwithstanding this continual Fight); and when any Ship happened to be separated from the main body, they would be sure to be upon it, and for the most part they took it: The English were at first but 40 Sail, the rest not being able to get out of the Port. The St. Catherine, a great Spanish Galias, the first day was so torn by the English Shot, that they were forced to take it into the Body of the Fleet to repair the Mischief it had received: The principal Galeon of Sevil, wherein many of the Spanish No-

Nobility sailed, falling foul upon another Ship, in this disorder had her Fore-mast broken, and so could not sail with the rest, but was left to the Mercy of the Seas, and of the *English*. The 22d. of July, Sir Francis Drake found this great *Galeon*, which was disabled, and summon'd it to yield, which was done when they heard *Drake* was the man they had to do with: The Commander of this Ship was *Valdez*, who was one of the principal persons in the Navy, and he had with him 450 persons. The same day the Admiral of the Squadron of *Guipuscoa*, commanded by *Michael de Oquendo*, Vice-Admiral of the whole Fleet, was set on fire by a disengaged *Hollander*, the upper part of it, and most of the men perished, but the Gunpowder never fired. This night the Admiral of *England* followed the *Spanish Lan-thorn*, and was next morning in the midst of their Fleet. The 23d. of July, the *Spanish* Fleet was over-against *Portland*, and the Wind was against the *English*; but they being nimbler, soon recovered that advantage again over the unwieldy *Spaniards*; this day the *English* played with more fury on the

the Spaniards than the two former; but they would not be provoked to stop till they came to Calais; that being the Orders given them in Spain; by this time the English Fleet was become a hundred strong, of one sort or other; and many Voluntier Ships made out by men of all degrees, were come into it; and by those same they came to Dover, there was 130. of which yet there was not above 22. or 23. of the Queen's biggest Ships, that were able to grapple with the Spanish ships. The 24th of July the Sea was calm, and four great Galasses which had Oars, fought the English Fleet with great advantage; by night the English wanted Gunpowder, which they sent for that night. The 25th. the Spaniards being at the height of the Isle of Wight, the Admiral of England, with five of the biggest Ships, attacked the Admiral of Spaine in the midst of his Fleet, and then there followed a terrible fight, which was managed on both sides with the utmost Bravery; but the Spaniards grew weary of it, and cast themselves again into the form of a Ring. The 26th. the Admiral knighted Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir John Hawkins. The 27th.

by

by Sunset the Spanish Fleet arrived over-against Dover, their Fleet cast Anchor this night in the Channel, within sight both of Dover and Calis, and the English Fleet were within Cannon-shot of it, and now 130 strong; from hence the Duke of Medina sent to the Duke of Parma, who was then at Dunkirk, and had Orders to join this Fleet, to hasten out the Land Army, which in 40 Fly-boats was to have joined him, that being covered by this huge Fleet, and with the Forces sent from Spain, now aboard it, a Descent might be made in England; but the Hollanders having notice of his Intentions, had sent a Fleet of 35 Men of War, under the Command of Justin of Nassau, their Admiral, on board the which was 1000 Musketeers; and he had Orders not to suffer any ship to come out of the Ports of Flanders, nor any Zabrees, Ratsches, or other small Vessels of the Spanish Fleet to enter thereinto; and this Dutch Fleet so ayed the Duke of Parma and his Land-Army, that they durst not stir, nor indeed was his Army then come to the sea, or ready to be embark'd, if he could have gone out and besides, he wanted all
man-

ner, of Necessaries for such an Expedition; and all the Flandrians had no great inclinations to make the King of Spain Master of England, to the Ruin of their own Civil Privileges. The Mariners also that were to have served the Duke of Parma, being terrified by the Hollanders, withdrew from the danger, and stole away for fear they should have been forced by the Duke to attempt the passing through the Dutch Fleet to their Ruin. The 2d. of August was the day appointed for the landing in England, but before that came, the Admiral of England having chosen eight old ships, and filled them with combustible matter, and charged all their Ordnance with Stones and Bullets, he sent them the 28th. of July, about Two of the Clock in the morning, with the Wind and Tide against the Spanish Fleet, and when they were just upon it, the Mariners fired all these ships at once, and left them under sail to enter the Spanish Fleet; this fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such an affright, that cutting their Cables, and hoisting their Sails, they betook themselves to the Sea in great confusion and disorder; one of

the

the greatest of their *Galleasses* falling foul upon another ship, lost her Rudder, and was driven on the Coast of *Calais*, where the *English* found and took her, and in her, besides other valuable Spoils, they found 50000 *Ducats* of the King of *Spain's* Treasure. The 29th. of July the *Spanish Fleet* got it self into some Order again before *Graveling*, but the *English Fleet* which had followed it, furiously assaulted it, and the *Spaniards* suffered the *English* to get the Weathergage of them, tho' they were more in number, and stronger than the *English*, but they were resolved to keep on the Defensive part till *Parma* was joined with them. This whole day was spent in a furious Fight, with great slaughter of the *Spaniards*, tho' there was few ships taken or sunk, but at night the *English* having spent all their Powder, retired. In all these fights the *English* did not lose above 100 men, and amongst them not one Person of Quality. The *Spanish Ships* were so battered, that this night two or three of them sunk, and amongst them a great ship of *Biscay*, and two *Portugal Galleons* of Seven or Eight Hundred Tun, were deserted by the *Spa-*

Spanish Fleet, because the Water entred into them on all sides, and taken by the Hollanders of Flushing. That day the Spanish Fleet passed by Dunkirk : The next day the Spanish Fleet cut down their Main-Sails, and resolved to fight no more ; nor was there any occasion, for the English Admiral having sent a Squadron to secure the Duke of Parma in Flanders, he with the rest pursued the Spanish Fleet till the 2d. of August, but tho' he was very near them, yet wanting Powder and Ball he never offered them any violence. The 4th. of August, the Spanish Navy spread all their Sails before a strong Wind, and committed their shattered ships to the Violence of the Northern Ocean, but the English following them to 57. Degrees of North-Latitude, returned and left them to receive the rest of their Chastisement from the Seas, and the Scots and Irish, but there were certain Pinnaces sent to follow them, and observe their Motions at a distance.

The Spaniards found they had lost four or five thousand of their men, and ten or twelve of their principal ships ; and cho they were rid of the English, The Condition of the Spanish Fleet, when the English left it.

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yet they wanted Water and Victuals, Cables, Cordage, Anchors, Masts, and Sails; and as for the Duke of *Parma*, he they saw could not succour them; so they resolved to pass round about *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and return into *Spain*; they also cast over-board all their Horses and Mules, to preserve the remainder of their Water: Thus they were driven *Northward* to 61 Degrees of Latitude; Twenty five of the best provided ships returned into *Spain*; forty more wanting Water, set sail for *Ireland* to get fresh Water there: These (the 2d. of September) were by a Storm from the *South-West* driven upon several parts of *Ireland*, and most of their Ships perished, together with the men in them; others were by a *West* Wind blown into the *English* Channel again, and were taken by the *English* or *Rocellers*: So that of 134 ships (as some counted them) that came from *Spain*, there never returned above 53. Of almost 30000 men that went in it, there perished above half, and many of them that came back, died with the hardships they had suffered. In short, there was not one Great Family in *Spain*, which did not lose a Son, a Brother,

Brother, or a Kinsman. All those of the *Spaniards* which hapned to be cast upon the Coast of *Scotland*, were entertained by the *Scots*, and fed and cloathed, and afterwards fent into *Spain*; but those that were cast upon the Coast of *Ireland*, were plundered of all that was left them by the *English* and *Irish*, and without any Mercy put to the Sword; those that were cast upon the Coasts of *Norway* and *France*, and even those that fell into the hands of the *English* and the *Hollanders*, met with a better treatment: So that *Ireland* the most deceived their expectation, and of a *Friend* proved the most implacable and barbarous *Enemy* to this wretched Fleet in their greatest distress.

Philip King of *Spain* bore the Loss of this great Fleet and Army with a more equal mind than is usual for Princes; and at last took the Duke of *Mendoza*, the General of this unfortunate Expedition, again into his favour; attributing the Calamity not to the Imprudence or Negligence of the General, but to the Violence of Tempests, and the Rage of the Ocean; tho in

The King of
Spain bears
his Loss with
much Pati-
ence and
Prudence.

truth it was owing to the Blessing of God upon the Valour and Policy of the *English*, and the too strict Orders they brought from *Spain*, Not to engage till they were joined with the Duke of *Parma*, who could never get out of the Harbour to meet them, being locked in by the *Hollanders*: This exposed them for so many days to the Fury of the *English* Cannon, with the advantage of the Weathergage; and had the *English* had Powder enough to have continued the Fight to the last, very much fewer of these ships had ever returned into *Spain*: But however, when they were battered and strangely weakned, they were forced to take the way of the Northern Ocean in September, and were exposed to dreadful Tempests, wanting fresh Water, Victuals, and all other Necessaries; for all the Northern Countries hated the *Spaniards*, so that neither *Germany*, *Denmark*, nor *Scotland* would relieve them: Thus being exposed to all manner of hardships in this battered estate, it is a great wonder so many of them returned into *Spain*. Some were for grappling with these ships when they fought them in the British Seas, but the *Eng-*
lish

English Admiral considering they were taller and stronger than the *English* ships, and had a Land-Army on board to defend their Decks, which we had not, he would never consent to it, and this was a principal cause of the Victory. The States of *Holland*, and the *English* ^{and Hollanders} Nation, which were equally concerned in this Victory, returned ^{ers glorifie} God for the ^{the} Glory of it to God alone, who ^{Victory.} was acknowledged by all as the Author of it, the *English* Fleet being nothing, when compared with the bulky ships that came from *Spain*; so that they thought we would not have dared to resist them: The 29th. of November the Queen went into the City of London in a Triumphant Chariot, the *Spanish* Colours that were taken being born before her to St. Paul's Church, where was a Sermon and a solemn Thanksgiving, at which the Mayor and all the Companies were present; and the same Piety was commanded at the same time in all the remoter parts of her Kingdom; and it was observed by her Subjects with the highest Expressions of Joy and Gratitude towards God, and of Loyalty and Affection towards her; so that she was now in the height

height of all her Glory both at Home and Abroad, beloved by her Friends, and feared by her Enemies, who were never after in a condition to assault her Kingdom the second time; but found it difficult to defend their own against her and her brave Martial Commanders.

The Queen declares a War against the King of Spain.

The English Expeditions against that Kingdom.

To revenge this Attempt upon her Kingdoms, the Queen the same year put out a Declaration of War against *Philip King of Spain*, which was sharply Penn'd, and from thenceforward to the end of her days there was a perpetual and a sharp War carried on against the *Spaniards*, which kept her Subjects quiet at home. The very next year she sent Sir *Francis Drake* with a Fleet into *Spain*, who took the *Groyne*, as is said above; by which Action she defeated the Designs of that King, who was preparing there for a second Invasion; and having abated his Pride and Rashness into a more tractable Modesty, she thereby delivered her People from a signal Danger. In this War the Earl of *Essex* signalized himself by taking *Cadiz* in 1596. and Burning all the Ships he found in that Harbour. *George Earl*

Earl of Cumberland, and Thomas Lord Howard, a younger Son of the Duke of Norfolk, lay heavy upon the Spaniards, and took many of their ships richly laden, giving all but the tenth part (which was reserved for the Queen) to the Mariners and Soldiers as the Reward of their Valour. In the year 1597. having heard the King of Spain was preparing a Fleet against Ireland, she sent a Navy of 120 ships, part English, and part Hollanders, under the Earl of Essex, and in it a Land Army of 6000 men; but this Fleet went out and met with so fevere a storm; that it was forced to return, and after that, was detained by contrary Winds, so that the Provisions being spent, the greatest part of the Army and of the ships were dismissed, the rest got to Sea the 17th. of August. This Fleet went to the Azores where Sir Walter Rawleigh took the Town of Fial, and beat the Spaniards that endeavour'd to hinder his passage to it. After this they lost the opportunity of surprizing the Spanish Indian Fleet, which they there waited for, and returned into England without any signal Victory, or what might help to bear the Charges.

of this Expedition, which was owing in great part to the Emulations between the Chief Commanders, who envied each other the Glory of doing well. Tho the *English* did not get much by this Expedition, yet the *Spaniards* were great Losers, one of their biggest Caracks being forced ashore, and burnt, three ships were taken, and many others of that Fleet being kept out too long, perished by tempestuous weather; whereas all the *English* Fleet returned in safety.

The Earl of
Cumberland
put out a
Fleet against
Spain at his
own Cost.

In the year 1597. *George Clifford*, *Earl of Cumberland*, at his own proper Costs and Charge put out a Fleet of Eleven ships to way-lay the *Caracks* that go every year from *Lisbon* to the *East-Indies*; but they having notice of his being there, sheltered themselves under the Fort of St. *Juliana*, which had a Hundred great Guns to defend it; and here he attended so long, that there was no ships sent that year. From thence he set sail to the *Canary Islands*, and took that which is called *Lanzarato*, with the Town upon it, which he pillaged: Thence he passed to *Boriquena* in the Bay of *Mexico* in the *West-*

West-Indies, and took *Porto Rico*, the principal Town in it, and one of the Keys of *America*, with the loss of less than 30 of his men, though it was very strong, and defended by 400 *Spanish* Soldiers, besides the Towns-men. The Earl considering the strength and importance of the Place, resolved to keep it, though the *Spaniards* offered him a vast price for the redemption of it; but within a short time a *Disentery*, with grievous Torments seized the *English* Garrison, so that in 40 days he buried 70 of his men; and this forced him to return home with 60 great Guns, but otherwise more exalted by the Victory than enriched. However, he did the Crown of *Spain* a vast damage, for that Year there went no Fleet to the *East-Indies*, and there came none home from *America*. It is observed of this Great Man, That his building so many great ships, and some other less honourable Diversions, wasted more of his Estate, than any of his Ancestors had spent. After this the Rebellion of *Tyrone* grew so formidable to the Queen, and the *English* Nation, that all the Money and Forces the Queen could spare, were employed that way, and spent in *Ireland*,

land, of which I have given an Account in its proper place; So that from henceforth there was no considerable Expedition undertaken against the Spaniards.

A rare Example of Martial Valour and Courage.

There was one singular Instance of Personal Valour in the Course of this War, which happened in the Year 1591, but was reserved to this Place, that the Steps by which the Spanish Pride and Greatness were abated and pull'd down, might appear the better by being laid together. May this Magnanimity of this Virgin Queen be an encouragement and an Example to the Present Age for the humbling another Prince, who in our times, and by our means, is become a terror to all his Neighbours on the score of his Naval Forces, though infinitely inferior in that, and the Point of Wealth too, to Philip the 11^d. King of Spain. But to return, Tho. Lord Howard, Second Son of the Duke of Norfolk, was sent this year with six Men of War, and six Ships of Burthen, to way-lay the American Fleet in its return to Spain, whilst he was waiting for it at the Azores, where he lay six months, his Soldiers and

and Sea-men being generally sick, *Alphonso Bassano*, the *Spaniſh Admiral*, came upon him suddenly with 80 Ships, so that the *Engliſh* could hardly gain the main Sea to make their defence. One *RICHARD GREEN-VILL*, Vice-Admiral, being in a Ship called the *REVENGE*, staying a little too long to take in ſome of his men who were on ſhoar, and not hoifting his Sails neither in the mean time, out of a contempt of the *Spaniards*; by all these oversights happened to be shut in between the *Spaniſh Fleet* and the Island. Attemping, when it was too late, to break through the *Spaniſh Fleet*, which was divided into four Squadrons, the *Spaniſh Admiral*, called the *St. Philip*, a Ship of vast bulk, clapt in between him and the Wind to deprive him of it, and three ſmaller Ships surrounded him, and poured in their great and ſmall Shot on all ſides; the *Spaniards* very often boarded him, but he every time drove them into their own Ships, or into the Sea.; Thus he defended himself all that night, with the great slaughter of his own men, but with the greater loſs of the Enemy. In the morning the *Engliſh* found their Powder

Powder fail, their Masts shot down, their Rigging torn, and the most part of their bravest men slain or wounded, and the rest so wearied with the fight, that they could hardly stand to their Arms ; The ship also had received 800 shot of Cannon from the Enemy. *Greenvill* was wounded, and whilst the Chyrurgeon was applying a Plaister to the Wound, he was wounded on the head, and the *Chyrurgeon* was slain. When the day broke upon them, they found the Deck all covered with Blood, shattered Timber, dead and dying men; so that it struck terror into the beholder. *Greenvill* having now fought 15 hours, and there being no hope of escaping, commanded the ship to be sunk ; the Pilot forbade it, and went forth within the Long-boat to the *Spanish Admiral* to resign the *English* ship, covenanting for their Lives and Liberties that were left in it ; *Greenvill* thereupon was carried aboard the *Spanish Admiral* languishing, and just ready to expire. The *Spaniards*, when they came to fetch him off, found him lying upon the Deck all covered with Blood and Wounds, and gasping out his Soul ; and they being amazed at the Resistance

stance he had made, and the Condition they found him in, endeavoured to stanch his Wounds, and applied fit Remedies to him. But all they could do or say to mitigate his Sorrows was despised by him, and he answered all their Kindnesses with Frowns and Threats; and thus living two days in the Agonies of Death, he expired. The Spaniards, who are a valiant Nation, were so far from being exasperated by this carriage of his, that they reverenced him as an *Hero*. The ship verified her Name at last, for being sent into *Spain* with 200 men on board, she perished in a storm, and all the men, were drown'd: so that every way she was to them a severe *R E V E N G E*.

When the Queen had any small re- spite from the Cares of War (the far greatest part of her Reigne being in truth spent in the defence of her King- doms, and her Neighbours, who all had their recourse to her in their Distresses) she always turned her thoughts to the amending what was a'miss in the State. There were great Complaints, made to her by the Ministers and Ambassadors of Foreign States, residing here,

Complaints
of the Depre-
dations of the
English at Sea.

here, That the Seas were infested by her Subjects, and the ships of her Friends and Allies rifld; whereupon she put out a *Proclamation for the security of her Friends*; strictly forbidding all her Subjects for the future to offer any violence or wrong to the Ships of any of her Neighbours, if they did not carry Iron, Corn, or Stores for Navigation and Shipping to the Spaniards, with whom she was then in War. Threatning, that whoever was hereafter found to break her Orders, should be taken for Pyrats, and treated accordingly. By this Proclamation, and her exact care to see it executed accordingly, she cleared the Seas, and made them as safe as the

A Reflection concerning Proclamations.

Land: The management of Proclamations in our Government is a thing of great difficulty, because they can introduce no new Law, and are of no force if they be contrary to Law; And when they are never so legal, if men are once inured to the slighting them, they are no more regarded than the whistling of the Wind in a stormy day. We have seen many Proclamations put out in our times which were extorted from Princes against their wills, or issued upon design to serve a turn for the present,

present, and the Prince well pleased to see the Bauble ridiculed and contemned; but men did not stop there, they treated other Proclamations in the same manner, which were of the greatest importance to the safety of the Prince and Nation. And all these Orders of State, which in her times were as venerable as an Act of Parliament, in Ours sunk to the value of almost a *common Ballad*, a Mischief which it will take some time perfectly to redress.

Amongst those that complained of the Depredations of the *English*, none were more clamorous than the *Hanse Towns* in *Germany*, who in the Year 1597. brought a Complaint before the Dyet of *Germany* at *Ratisbon* against the *English*, That they had rifl'd and robb'd all their ships that carried Corn, Iron and Cordage to the *Spaniards*. The Quarrel went so high, that the *English* were prohibited all Trade in *Germany*, because they traded there upon their own *Laws*, and not according to the *Laws of the Empire*. That is, that they would not submit their Trade to the Rules of the *Hanse Towns*, but traded as a free Nation under the Protection

The Hanse
Towns very
clamorous a-
gainst the
English.

sion of their own Queen and Laws. To this the Queen by her Ambassador Mr. John Wroth replied, ‘ That the Complaint of the *Hanse Towns* was unjust ; That it became her as a good Prince to consult the Welfare of her own People, and to promote their safety and common advantage ; and that it became a good Shepherd to prefer the welfare of his own Flock, before that of any other. That the *Hanse Towns*, if they did well consider it, might trade upon the same Privileges with her own Subjects ; but then if they expected to enjoy a Monopoly in her Kingdom, they deserved more than was fit to be granted by a just and free Prince, as she

The Trade of the English prohibited in Germany. was. Rudolph, then Emperor of Germany, was offended with the Answer the Queen had made, and passed a Law in the Dyet, prohibiting the English from trading in any of the Ports of Germany, and commanding them to withdraw, with their effects, by a certain day. The Queen on the other hand represented the injustice of this Edict to the Emperor, and the Princes, and informed them that Henry the IIId. her Predeceſſor, had by a Royal Charter made by

by agreement granted to the *Hanse Towns*, a place in *London* call'd the *Still-yard*, with many very large Privileges; for the preserving the Freedom of their *Trade*; That this Grant had after been confirm'd by *Edward III.* *Richard II.* *Henry IV.*, *V.*, *VI.* and all the other Princes, to her Brother's time, and had been religiously observed, and therefore she desired that the Edict might be suspended, and the Controversie ended by a Treaty; but this was denied: Whereupon the Queen, by the Advice of her Council, put out a *Proclamation*, commanding the Germans to depart from the *Still-yard* the same day the English were commanded to leave *Germany*; from thenceforward she put a stop to all their Trade in *London*, or any other of her Ports, and ordered the *Lord Mayor of London* to seize the *Still-yard*. The *Hanse Towns* called a Dyet of all their Members at *Lubek*, and in it, by way of Revenge, resolved to put a stop to the Trade of the English in *Poland*, and other places of the *Baltick Sea*; Whereupon the Queen sent *Sir George Carew*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, into *Prussia* and *Poland*, to acquaint the Dyes of that Kingdom, That

She takes a
way the Still-
yard from
the *Easterlings*
or *Germans*:

the *Hanse Towns* of *Germany* might still have enjoyed their Ancient Privileges in *England*, if they would have been contented to use them as Favours granted by our Princes, and not have pretended they were their Right: That as there was reason for the granting them when they were given, so there was all the reason in the World they should be suspended, restrained, or quite taken away when the Reason ceased upon which they were granted; that this had been done in *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *England* in the Reigns of *Edward the VIth.* and *Queen Mary.* That the *Hanse Towns* had been made so rich by the Favour of Princes, that they had been heretofore terrible even to their Benefactors; that it became the King of *Poland* rather to favour her who was a Prince, than to patronize the insatiable Avarice of the Merchants; who when they were become very rich, were too apt insolently to lift up themselves against Princes: That the Queen was contented they should carry Corn, and all other Merchandise to *Spain*, except Ammunition and Warlike Stores for Sea or Land, though it was lawful, and the Practice of all Nations, to intercept

tercept all those Provisions that were sent to an Enemy. She had better success here than in Germany, and settled her Subjects Trade in the Baltick so effectually, that the *Hanse Towns* were never after in a condition to dispute the Trade of the *English*. Thus the Queen by her Authority and Prudence mastered the Obstinacy of the *Hanse Towns*, and forced them to sue for their Goods in her Court of Admiralty, and to trade with her Subjects upon equal terms in all places; and she so divided and broke their Power, that they were never since able to contest with any Prince, much less with her, or her Successors. Notwithstanding which, the Kings of England have always religiously continued the same Privileges to the *Hanse Towns*, though the tide of the Trade belong since wholly turn'd, the English now carrying all that Trade to their own doors, and much more than ever they received from them; And I my self (saith the late Earl of Carlisle) was present in Council, when Charles the II^d. after his Happy Restoration ratified the said Privileges.

Poland continues the Trade with the *English*.

The Embas-
sy into Mus-
covy, p. 213:

She ends a
War between
the *Russians*
and *Swedes*.

She also by her Authority, in the Year 1595; composed a War which had depended many years between the King of Sweden and the Emperor of Russia, who had a greater respect for her, than for any other Prince in Christendom; her Subjects having opened a way by the White Sea, and the Bay of Archangel, to trade by Sea with him in the Year 1554. which was then, and has ever since been of vast advantage to that remote, barbarous, and poor Kingdom; The Subjects of which have not only been enriched, but civilized, and learned many mechanick Arts, which they did not understand before, of us; and those people we and the Hollanders have sent thither.

Her Laws for
the Enrich-
ing of her
Subjects at
home.

Her whole care was not employed in defending her People from the violence of her foreign Enemies, and the Frauds and Arts of the Neighbour Traders by Sea, but she took effectual care at the same time in her Parliaments, to promote excellent and useful Laws for the Restraint of excessive Domestick Expences, and the regulating the Lives of her Subjects, as will appear by the Printed Statutes of her time. To this end she ne-
cessitated

cessitated the meaner of her Subjects, by Sharp Laws, as sharply executed; to a modest and frugal way of living, both as to their Diet and Habits. She curbed and discountenanced the Luxury, and expensive folly of the English Youth and Nobility, both by her private Advices, and her publick Laws; and she prescribed them Rules for their Furniture, Families, and Retinues. She had observed the Purveyors for her Court were a rapacious sort of men, and under the colour and pretence of Law, made great depredations on the Husbandmen, and the Farmers in her Kingdom, and therefore she kept a strict hand upon them, and by her Severity, when ever any Complaint was brought against them, she kept them in awe. There was another Generation of men called commonly the **C O N C E A L E R S**; of mean Extraction, and worse Disposition; who had obtained Commissions to enquire into the Frauds and Concealments of those that had got any Lands belonging to the Royal Demeans, or Crown of England; and they had under that pretence wrested from many of her Subjects their Inheritances and Estates; but when she understood their Crimes,

The Purveyors reformed.
As also the
Concealers.

she not only punished them for their Wrongs, but revoked their Commissions which she had formerly granted out; And by a Proclamation she forbade any further inquiry should be made into the Titles of her Subjects, as to those Lands they possessed on the behalf of the Crown, by which she put a stop to that sort of Miscreants, and secured the Estates of her People from further

*Her Severity
to her Judges
and Gover-
nors.*

wrong. Whencever she found that her People had been afflicted, or ruined in their Fortunes by the *Judges and Governors* she had set over them in any part of her Dominions, she consolated them upon the first opportunity. Before her time the *Usurers of England* had taken what they could get from all for usury; and she to prevent the Frauds and rapacious Encroachments of these men, first passed a Law, that they should not take above *ten in the hundred* for one years interest, which by the plenty of Money sunk after to Six, and of late, without any *A&t*, to five in the Hundred. To prevent enhancement of the Market, she made a severe Law against *Forestallers, Ingrossers, and Regattors*, repelling their insatiable Avarice, by imprisoning, whipping, and Pillory. She called

*Usury miti-
gated.*

called her *Customs* the Nerves of the Nation (as they were the best branch of her Revenues) and she made it her business to study them, and well understand the value of them, and the ways of raising them. When her *Exchequer* was at the lowest ebb, she detested all *Monopolies* and bitter Exactions upon her People, which she thought to be utterly unlawful, and tending more to the loading her with the hatred of her Subjects, than the enriching of her *Coffers*. She was very severe against all *Informers*, or *Promoters*, who having been for many Ages encouraged by her Predecessors, as the Enrichers and Improvers of the Royal Revenues, had contracted a vast envy from the whole Nation ; but she was the first Prince that would suffer their Crimes to be inquired into; and finding they had been guilty of many ill Actions, she put a stop to them, and punished them for what they had done, that they might no longer impoverish the better and richer part of her Subjects. Thus she delivered her People from the grievous Oppressions of *Usurers*, *Ingrossers*, and *Promoters*. She was no less careful to protect them against the Avarice of her

The Customs
carefully
looked after.

Monopoly
suppress'd.

*Informers and
Promoters*
carefully in-
quired into.

The Character of

Judges and Presidents; and when any of them came to wait on her, she would upon occasion speak very severely against their aspiring to those places, the multitude of Suits, and the over great variety of Causes. She increased the Wages of her Judges, that she might deliver them at once from the temptation and suspicion of *Bribery*. She passed an excellent and a most equitable Law, for the more speedy determining the Cases depending in her Courts.

Her Admonition to the Judges.

' She admonished her Judges, That
 ' they should consider the Judgment or
 ' Jurisdiction they exercised, was God's;
 ' and therefore they should hear with
 ' patience, and give judgment with
 ' equity and justice, truly, and with-
 ' out any corruption. That they should
 ' diligently study the Law, and consi-
 ' der it well, and with relation to the
 ' profit of the State, and not shew the
 ' sharpness of their Wits by a falacious
 ' interpretation of a doubtful Law, to
 ' the injury of her People; but that
 ' without partiality they should admi-
 ' nister equal Justice to all, and severely
 ' punish those they found guilty. If
 therefore there were any just cause of
 complaint in her times, it was only
 owing

She detested
 multitude of
 Suits.

owing to the Judges, who had a full liberty to have satisfied the Nation by their Fidelity and Integrity, and the Religious Observation of their Oaths ; and so were not necessitated to become a Grievance to her People by Illegal Proceedings. But then all these cates shew the Corruption of the Times, and that many of the Law-Proceedings had been corrupted by the Lawyers, which made these Laws for the correction of them necessary. When she had thus restored her *Law-Courts*, her next care was to restrain the License of the *Theatre*, and she prohibited all Exercises and Plays, but what were Manly, and tended to the fitting her Subjects for War, by making their bodies more hardy and active, and their Souls more valiant. Her Divine Virtues are not to be Recompenced by Statues of Brass or Marble, which have more of Ostentation than true and solid Honour ; nor are they to be Equall'd by any Commendations or Magnificent Titles ; for they deserved more Lasting Monuments to be erected in the Minds and Judgments of men for an Everlasting Remembrance. And certainly Posterity will stand amazed to read and consider

The licentious liberty of
the *Theatre*
restrained.

sider a State so firmly established by the Greatness of her Soul and Counsels, so many Victories obtained, and such incredible things done in her Times.

The Calamities and Misfortunes that hapned in her Times.

Tho' her Reign was the most glorious and happy period or space of time that had ever hapned to this Island from the *Norman Conquest* to her days; yet there were some Misfortunes and Calamities that clouded the Brightness of it. In the fifth year of her Reign there was a Plague brought out of *France* by her Soldiers from *Newhaven*, which destroyed more people in *England* than any that had happened before it. The Earthquakes that happened frequently in those times, frightened the *English* more than any other thing, they being very unusual, and attended with horrible Noises in the earth, and some Damage. The Queen was always ready to relieve any of her Subjects that had suffered by these Earthquakes, Inundations, or Fire; her Coffers were ever open to redrefs the Calamities of her Subjects, and to enable them to repair their Losses. When the people of *London* fell into an outragious

ragious Tumult on the account of a Famine, and a great want of Corn, she first by her Royal Proclamation appeased their enraged minds, and then commanded the Lord Mayor to undertake the Care of supplying the Wants of the City ; and she sent many Ships into the *Baltick Sea*, and to *Poland*, for Corn, which upon their return put an end to these Complaints.

She would punish the Iniquities of her Magistrates, whenever she found them guilty ; but then she would defend their Lawful Power, and assert their Just Authority against ill men, with the hazard of her Life. Thus she put a stop to the Insolence of the *Londoners* when they were in the greatest Rage that was possible, by the sole Authority of her Proclamation, without any Forces. — She frequently issued considerable Sums of Money out of her Treasury, for the Relief of the Poor. She took a particular care that all Religious Foundations, and places built for the benefit of the Poor, should be employed to the right uses ; and that the Lands and Houses belonging to them, should for ever be preserved intire to them. As

Her Care of
and Kindness
to her good
Magistrates.

Her Care of
the Poor.

Her affectionate and tender Care of the Church.

As she took effectual and wise Care to heal the Wounds of the State, or Civil Government, so she well understood the Diseases of the Church were to be taken into consideration too, and to be prevented with the utmost hazard of a Prince's Personal Safety : To this end she made severe Laws against the selling Livings, the Avarice of Patrons, and the Simony of Clergy-men. She detested the giving Curacies and Preferments to those that had no Learning. She preferred honest stout men, who were well read in Divine and Humane Literature, and well acquainted with Men, and Books, and the Times, to the Dignities of the Church, and the greatest and best endowed Livings : But on the other hand, she despised all those that had neither Virtue, nor Parts, nor Learning ; but above all, the dishonest, slanderous, and crafty Knaves, who were at a catch to injure others. She compelled all that were inducted into any Benefice, to swear, That they had not given nor promised any thing to any person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, on the account of that Preferment. She would not suffer any Benefice to be bought or sold ; but she detested

detested the Buyer and the Seller as the worst of Plagues ; and took care to exclude them from that and all other Preferments. She was never silent or unconcerned, when unworthy and unfit men were recommended to the Dignities of the Church. The most earnest solicitations of the greatest of her Courtiers and Favourites, could in this case have no effect upon her ; and in all other things which concerned the Safety and Welfare of the Church, she took a Pious and Religious Care to place her Favours to the best advantage.

She was a Lady of Great Beauty, of Her Stature and Personal and Excellent Accomplish-
Shape : In her youth she was adorned with a more than usual Maiden Modesty ; her Skin was of pure white, and her hair of a yellow colour ; her Eyes were beautiful and lively : In short, her whole Body was well made, and her Face was adorned with a wonderful and sweet Beauty and Majesty. This Beauty lasted till her Middle Age, when it declined : In her Old Age she became deformed with Wrinkles, Leanings, and fallen Lips ; so that it was hard

hard to believe she had ever had that Excellent Composure, and Lovely Beauty : But then, Time was able to make no change in her, as to her Majesty, her Princely Speech and Carriage ; her Mind was as high, her Manners as regular, and the Course of her Life the same it had ever been. She was however so displeased to see her Beauty wear off, and her Body decline from its former Lustre, that she made herself a little ridiculous, by her taking too much notice of it. If she hapned by accident to cast her eye upon a true *Looking-glass*, she would be strangely transported and offended, because it did not still shew her what she had been. The Courtiers, who knew her humour, if she were to pass through any of the Ladies Chambers that waited on her, presently conveyed away all the Looking-glasses, and sometimes for hafte broke them. To please and flatter her, they would also frequently admire her Beauty , and pretend in her greatest Age and Deformity she was still handsome and lovely. She was strangely pleased to hear the Beauty of her Face, the Sweetness of her Voice, and the Majesty and Decence of her Countenance

In her Old
Age she was
offended at
the Decay of
her Beauty.

nance still admired by others; And this gave occasion to many unworthy strokes of Flattery, and examples of Adulation sometimes used to her. Thus the Orators of those times would too often in their Speeches vainly commemorate and celebrate the wonderful and pleasing Beauty and Shape of their Queen, and say, The Majesty of her Countenance was not at all subject to the Injuries of Time; when their eyes told them and all that saw her, the contrary; from thence they went on sometimes to tell her, She had a Soul worthy to Rule over the whole World; and enjoyed those Favours of Fortune, and Gifts of Nature and Art, which fitted her for the Empire of the Universe: Nor were her stately Palaces and Buildings, her noble Furniture, her fine Statues, or excellent Pictures, her great Treasures, Virtues, or Felicity, forgotten on these occasions:

The Flatteries of Learned men towards her were very base and shameful, and such as would hardly become the Stage or Theatre; for they would often apply to her that Expression of Virgil's as spoken of her, (*O Deserte!*)! Surely

The Flatteries of learned men noted.

ly this is a Goddess! And that Sentence too which Tacitus marked as the utmost pitch of a wild and boundless Affection, (*Solan D. Elizabetha monstra tante molis capacem*), That none but the Divine Soul of Queen Elizabeth was able to sustain that Weight: By which extravagant Flatteries they would have had men think that the Name of their Queen had something of Divinity in it, and that they revered her as a Goddess which fell from Heaven. These base and pernicious Flatteries so far transported the minds of *Caligula*, *Domitius*, and *Heliogabulus*, that they fell into a kind of Madness, and forgetting the frailty of their humane state, they assumed the Stile and Honours of gods, and despised all Religions, and the Providence of God. The Queen especially in the beginning of her Reign endeavoured to raise in the minds of her Subjects an high opinion of her self; and to that end she shewed her self on all occasions very Civil and Obliging to the *Many* in her Attire, Retinue, and Carriage.. She always openly profess'd that she would make it her business to employ her Estates and Fortunes in the most prudent Administration of her Royal

She endeavoured at first to raise a good opinion of her self in her Subjects.

Royal Power and Authority. What ever she did or said was by her design-
ed to draw upon her self the Applause
and Good Wills of her Subjects ; and
by this her Moderation and Prudence

she won the Hearts, and obtained the
Praises of all men. Afterwards with
the Prosperity of her Affairs, *Flattery*,
that old haunter of the Courts of *For-
tunate Monarchs*, under the Vizor and
Mask of Diligence, Loyalty, and Du-
ty, gained her ear and her heart ; and
she was pleased to see her Parasitical
Courtiers, when they had looked in-
tently on her, of sudden cast their
eyes upon the ground ; and craftily
seem to shake, as if their Modesty was
not able to bear the Greatness of her
Majesty, and the splendor of her Hea-
venly Eyes. And if in their common
Intercoufes with her, or their Publick
Addrestes to her, they happened to fall
into Flattery, she never corrected them
for it, nor forbid these indecent and
unseasonable Flatteries. She would not
suffer any of her Subjects, tho' Parlia-
ment-men, to speak to her by way of
Address or Busines ; but upon their
Knees, and with great submission. The
crafty men of that Age who lay in Am-

Crafty men
wrought up
on this her
Infirmity.

bush, made great use of this Infirmitie of the Queen's, and observed not only her Words, but her Looks and Nods, and flattered her in every thing. Sir *Thomas Henage*, a *Knight*, was one of these cunning Blades, who by the basest crouching Insinuations scrued himself into her good opinion, and most intimate Familiarity ; and by this means in her Court raised himself to a great Power and Estate. And besides him, there were many others who were not ignorant of this useful Art, tho they were inferior to him in Place, Fortune, and Fame. Tho many of her more sincere and hearty Friends advised her, *Not to be imposed on by the specious Pretences of obsequious Diligence and Respect* ; yet she was not only better pleased with *Flattery* than *Truth*, but hated all that Liberty in her Subjects that was above this practice. A Learned man taking notice in one of his Sermons before her, That she that had been as meek as a Lamb, was become an *untameable Heifer* ; he was reprehended by her so soon as he came out of the Pulpit, *as an over-confident man, that disbonoured his Sovereign* ; as in truth that was the worst Time and Place

Place he could have chosen to Reprove her in. *Rudd, Bishop of St. David's,* a man of great Piety and Learning, discoursing once very prudently of the many Infirmities of Old Age, so provoked the Indignation of the Queen, that she would never after endure to hear him. Tho' she was an utter Enemy to all Freedom of Speech, yet she very well knew how to distinguish between a *Crafty Preacher who made it his business to accomodate himself to the Opinions and Wills of his Hearers, and a constant, severe, and grave man.* Accordingly she ever preferr'd a Moderate and Temperate Way of Preaching, for fear her People should have been excited by such Turbulent men to excessive Insolence, and the minds of wiser men should also have been offended. In this affair she made good use of the provident Prudence of the Bishops, who deprived the over-fiery spirits of the Fiery, Turbulent Preachers. But curbed the Liberty of Preaching, and put a stop to their excessive Boldness. And this was the principal Reason why none were suffer'd to Preach in her times, but such as were Licensed to do so. Yet at the same time she was a Person of great Piety, and endowed with

She loved
Religion, but
hated Fa-
tions.

the most ardent Love of Religion ; but then she did not think it was fit to suffer her Kingdoms to be embroiled by Seditious spirits, under the Mask and Pretence of avoiding Persecution, and promoting the Service of God : And she was happy in this, that in her times those Parties that have since spread themselves over this whole Kingdom, were small and inconsiderable, and so she was under no necessity of complying with them for her own safety, but could treat them as she thought fit ; and perhaps if her two next immediate Successors had pursued the same Methods she did, there had been no Civil War in *England* ; but whilst they sought to gratifie the Princes of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion abroad, by their Lenity to the Papists at home, the Protestant Dissenters grew up here, and if they were connived at, encreased ; if they were suppressed, they turned the Envy of the Favour shewn to the Papists, upon the Government ; and easily persuaded the People, that Popery would be restored in *England*. Whether she consulted of Peace or War, she always set God before her eyes, and directed all things to his Glory. For the

the promoting Charity and Piety, she Religiously observed the stated and appointed Festivals of the Church, when she was present at the appointed Prayers, and the Sermons, both which she heard with much Devotion and Attention, but without the least mixture of Superstition. She ever received the Eucharist with highest Expressions of Respect, and used the Ceremonies of the Church. When she went to hear the Week-day or Lent-Sermons, she was ever attended by many of her Nobility of both Sexes, but without any extraordinary Splendor in her Dress or Retinue. According to the nature and circumstance of the times, she religiously and devoutly listened to the Sermons made before her; and according to the Merits of the Preachers, rarely failed to shew them her Favour, and salute and thank them before they went away. She very freely exposed her Life to the utmost hazards for the preserving the Dignity and Discipline of the Church; to which end she caused her Laws against the Papists to be constantly and regularly executed; and she shewed the same Severity against the Obstinacy of the Protestant

She exposed
her Life for
the Safety of
the Church.

Dissenters, whom she kept all her times under strict and sharp Restraint. I think it is not needful to shew here again to what great Perils she exposed her Life for the Preservation of the Reformed Religion.

She humour-
ed and care-
fed the Body
of the Peo-
ple.

She shewed her self ever easie and merciful to the People, and condescended to humour them, and promote their Welfare with the utmost Humanity. By this her Clemency and Sweetness, and the Equity of her Laws, and the Proceedings on them, her Courteous Behaviour, and Obliging Speeches to them, she so intirely won their Hearts, and fixed their Affections, that without any Command of hers, of their own accord, and by an universal Consent, they every year celebrated her *Coronation-Day* with a Religious Joy : They chearfully exposed their Lives to any Danger for her Safety ; and never refused to suffer or hazard any thing, if they might but enjoy their beloved Queen. Being thus secured of the Affection of her People, she lived pleasantly and securely in Peace and Plenty ; and she could safely treat her Nobility, as became a Prince, when she was

was sure to be reverenced and obeyed ; her Authority being supported thus by the Love and good disposition of her Subjects towards her. The People honoured some of her Ministers of State too, and very much applauded them ; and upon every *New-Year's Day* freely made a present to them, to testifie the grateful sense they had of the Benefits they had received by their Ministry. The People of the meanest degree had ever an easie access to the Queen, and could with the utmost freedom make their Complaints to her of any Injury they had suffered from the greatest of the Nobility ; so that it is very difficult to say, whether her Subjects most feared her Authority , or loved her Humanity and Courtesie. All these many and great Virtues , her Piety, the Love of her Kingdom , and the careful diligence she employed to win and keep the Affections of her Subjects, sprang from one and the same Fountain, her *Prudence*. This taught her how much it contributed to the Safety and Security of her State, to have her Privy Council consist of none but Wise and Faithful Men, chosen freely and prudently by her self : And

The Character of

by the Authority and with the Approbation of this Council, she provided for the Government of her Border-Counties and Garisons, approved men, of good Understandings, and well Educated, who were to take eare to secure her Kingdom from External Surprises, and Internal Broils ; they were directed by her to take care also of whatever tended to the Welfare of her People, and to punish what was wicked and disquieting ; which they did, not only by the execution of good Laws, but also by the exemplary Lives they led.

Parliaments
frequently
held, and for
the most
part well
tempered.

The Parliaments in her time were frequent, and well tempered ; the Lower House being generally chosen of Men of good Prudence, and beloved by the people, upon the opinion of their Integrity, Fidelity, and Piety : By their Advice and Assistance the Royal Authority became more resplendent ; and whilst they did their Duties, she as carefully observed their Privileges, and regarded their Petitions and Advices ; but if at any time they happened to transgress their bounds, and intranch upon her Authority, she would make

make them soon sensible that they were her Subjects, as well in Parliament, as out of Parliament : And the truth is, those Notions and Practices which afterwards imbroil'd this Kingdom, and injonoured some, and ruined one of her Successors, began to spring up in her time, and were only suppressed by the prudence and steadiness of the Queen, her wise Council, good Government, and the affection the People bore to her ; so that it was not possible for Factious and Ambitious Men in her times to raise those Fears, or foment those Distrusts, that became so fatal afterwards. Though she was thus jealous of her own Regal and Sovereign Authority, by which she had the right of conferring Titles of Honour, Administriag Justice, &c. yet she did little of importance without the concurrence of the *Three Estates* : And they never stubbornly and generally invaded the Royal Authority, despised her Commands, or resisted her Counsels and Admonitions. Whilst she was settling the methods of her Government, she laid down this as a certain *Maxim*, which she had learned from the English History, and her own Ob-

Her Maxim
concerning
War and
Peace.

Observation and Experience, That the People of England were more governable in times of War, than in times of Peace. That the common People were hardened and made valiant by War, but by too much Peace became sloathful and dissolute, and at the same time Factions and unquiet. That the Nobility, if once unmusified from the Labours and Perils of War, would in Peace become expensive, luxurious and effeminate. Her greater care was to know thoroughly the state of her Kingdoms; and those men that were intrusted by her to govern her People, whose Words and Actions she carefully observed. She carefully observed the Examples of her Royal Ancestors, the Publick Laws and Institutions, the Manners and Inclinations of the Common People, the Names and Abilities of her Nobility, their Publick Offices, and Private Estates, the number of her Soldiers and Garrisons, her Fleets and Forts, and whatever else had been provided for the defence and safety of her Kingdoms; her Customs, Taxes, Crown-Lands, and Revenues, and the Charges and Expence she was to make; in all which she prudently and pro-

providently altered many things for the better. She never put Arms into the hands of the meanest and poorest of the People, that their wants might not prompt them to Sedition; So that the <sup>never arm
the meanest
of the Peo-</sup> ple, *Militia* in her time was generally supplied by the *Teomanry and richer Tenants*, who served in their own Arms. The present Practice of employing mean people, arose upon the multiplying the Train Arms, and the over-charging men, which indeed has made them more numerous, but not so safe, considerable, or governable, as they were before, to the damage both of the Crown and People. She never advanced any to the degree of a Peer, but those that were men of worth, and whose virtue and industry had rendered them fit for it; and yet after all these Cautions, the number she created was very small. She rarely created any man a *Peer* upon the solicitation or recommendation of others, or for her own fancy or humour; but when any person stood Candidate for that Honour, there was an exact and careful consideration had of the Nobility of his Ancestors, the Greatness of the Family, the Endowments of his Mind, and

The Honours
belonging to
the Peerage,
carefully gi-
ven.

and the briskness of his Parts, of his Probity, Wisdom and Prudence, and of the strength and vigour of his Body, which might enable him to perform some good service to the Nation. *It was the rare felicity of these Times, That men were advanced to Honours without their seeking it; and sometimes against their wills, being promoted for their Virtues, not Fortunes.* She chose her Counsellors, Bishops, Judges, Ministers and Court-Officers, and her inferior Magistrates, on the single score of their Fidelity, Experience, Piety, Justice, Modesty, Prudence and Wisdom : That they being thus advanced, might exertise their Offices the more honourably and sincerely. She would often tell those she entrusted, That they might rest assured she would reward their Integrity, Industry and Equity ; and if she found them guilty of any Injustice and Oppression, she would as certainly punish them for it. She would never entertain in her Service any Ignorant, Covetous, Dishonest, or Light Person. She always loved Sir Walter Raleigh for his great Ingenuity and Loyalty, yet he was never admitted into the Privy Council.

When

**Her care in
chusing good
Councillors,
Bishops,
Judges and
Ministers.**

When *Barleigh*, the Lord Treasurer, had a long time solicited her to advance his Son *Robert*, a Person of great Parts, to be Secretary of State ; she a great while denied it, only because he was little of stature, and hunch-backed ; and she thought it a dishonour to that Board, to have a deformed Person sit amongst so many Eminent and Noble Persons ; and when afterwards he attained this Honour upon the solicitation of his Father, and his other Friends, the Nobility were highly offended at it. And when after that he was, upon the death of the Lord *Buckhurst*, made his Father's Assistant in the Treasury, it so far provoked the Military men, that it proved the Ruine of the *Earl of Essex*, and it was well it ended here. The Queen being thus provided with a Wise and Noble Council with great care and prudence, and which were highly esteemed by her People too, as well as her self, for their virtue ; she chose the most learned and uprightest of the Councillors, or Lawyers, to be her Judges, only *Hutton* excepted.

She was an exact Observer of Justice, Her Justice, which is the most resplendent of all the Moral to Offenders, and Veracity, and Severity,

Moral Virtues, and of veracity or constancy to her Word, which is the foundation of Justice: She was extremely severe against all that broke her Laws, and punished sometimes small Offences with great severity. Though the Earl of Essex was a Person of great Fame, her particular Favourite, and had done her, and the Nation, good Services, and was the best Soldier her times bred (which were well stored with excellent Military men) yet when by the fraud of his Enemies and Flatterers, rather than his own Inclinations, he was so far transported, as to attempt to arm her Subjects against his envious Rivals, who treacherously fought his ruine; That which he expected would have turned to his advantage failing, the Queen delivered him into the hands of the common Executioner, who mangled his Body to that degree, that it enraged the people that saw it, against the Hangman, and they stoned and cursed him for it, and drove him out of the City. Soon after God took a severe account of thofe that had been the Procurers of this Noble Person's death; Cobham, Gray and Rawleigh, with their whole Families, were ruined within the

the space of a few years ; Sir *Robert Cecil*, the principal Agent in it, lived longer, but at last perished too by a long Disease, attended with Ulcers, and other painful and loathsome Circumstances ; and as the Story goes, under an Hedge in the open Fields as he was travelling on the Road.

Sir *John Perrot*, a Welsh Gentleman Sir John Perrot an Instance of her Severity. of great Spirit, and of much fame for his Military Exploits, and his Integrity in the management of the Wars in *Ireland* ; was yet of something too fierce a temper, which gave his Enemies too many opportunities to traduce and injure him. The *Lord Chancellor Hatton* was one of those who employed Spies upon him, and they catching some Expressions that fell from him in a passion, and much improving them to his disadvantage, accused him to the Queen as one that was not well affected to Her Majesty, and that had used some Expressions which tended to her dishonour ; for which, and his over-stiff Contumacy, he was put upon his Trial, and being found guilty, he was condemned, and was imprisoned to the day of his death ; suffering want, and

and nastiness of a common Goal, and the uneasiness of an afflicted and dejected mind, to see himself thus in his old Age abandon'd to the malice of his Enemies by his Mistress, whom he had serv'd with much fidelity and courage in her Wars. His Estate also, which he had received from his Ancestors, which was considerable, and what he had gained himself, was all taken from him. The Lord *Treasurer Burleigh* was also suspected to have had a great share in the Contrivance of this Gentleman's Ruine.

Her very Severity to Offenders made her the more beloved by the People.

Her Severity, which she exerted in punishing the Disorders and Offences of her Servants, was so far from being invicidous, that it made her more popular, and the better thought of by all good men. She had the utmost aversion for all contrived and malicious Murtherers; so that she thought such Miscreants could never be treated too ill; and when she got them into her power, she would rarely shew them any mercy. Of this I will only give two Instances of a multitude that happened in her times, which will shorten my Work, and serve to illustrate her Justice.

stice and Severity. There were two Brothers of the Family of *Davers* who were of the degree of Knights, and men of good Estates and Reputations, and they had a quarrel with another Gentleman of equal Birth and Estate, whose name was *Long*, a man of Valour too ; thereupon they resolved to murther him ; and taking the advantage as he was going to set down to Dinner, they shot him in the breast. The *Queen* hearing of this Fact, was strangely enraged at it, and resolved to revenge the Villany, to the utmost degree (as she ever detested all premeditated Assassinations) and she accordingly ordered the Law to pass against the two *Daverses*, and cited them to appear before her Judges to answere for it. But the two Brothers made their escape, and fled first into *France* ; there they heard of the Insurrections in *Ireland*, into which Kingdom they passed, and served the Queen against her Rebel-Subjects, in hopes by some signal Acts of Valour to blot out their said Crime, and regain her Favour ; And in truth they served her many years with extraordinary Fidelity and Courage against those Barbarous Rebels ; yet after all,

Y the

The Character of

the *Earl of Essex* could not obtain their Pardon without very great difficulty, and many and repeated Solicitations. The Eldest of these two Brothers afterwards lost his Life in the Service of the Queen, and under the Command of the Earl of Essex.

Her Justice.

In all private Suits she was observed to be a religious Observer of Justice and Equity, and to keep the Ballance even between the greatest and the meanest of her Subjects: She preferred the poorest from wrongs, and made it her care that every man might enjoy what was his own, and serve the Publick with it; by the impartiality of Justice, and the equity of all Law proceedings; providing carefully for the preservation of Human Society, for the good of the whole Community. When any Case happened to be wrongfully determined, by reason of Perjury, or Interest, Partiality, or mistake in any of her Courts; she would upon complaint hear it her self, taking to her assistance men of the greatest Authority, and much celebrated for their exact knowledge of the Laws of England. And when she had thus sifted it to the bottom,

bottom; she would ever give a most just and wise Sentence, by which she made her Judges the more careful to keep within the bounds of Equity and Justice, and shewed her Subjects, that no part of her People should want the benign influence of her care and assistance in time of need. She always took care that her inferior Magistrates should be reverenced, and the Authority of her Council and Laws kept up: But then whatever had been injuriously transacted by Bribery, or Error, in any of her Courts, she as willingly corrected, that Errors might not increase and multiply by her carelessness, or the ignorance of her Judges; and that Mistakes might not get strength by time, and plead custom. She would sometimes also cause Cases to be heard by her other ordinary Judges after they had been determined, that she might keep the ordinary Judges in awe, and make them the more circumspect, when they were liable to have their Actions scanned over again.

In her Personal Expences ~~she was~~ she was
thrifit and sparing; that she might not exhaust her Exchequer, and at the same

She was sparing in her
domestic Ex-
pences, but
in her pub-
lick Actions.

same time to teach her Subjects by her own Example to live thriftily, and soberly, after the manner of their Ancestors: In her Government, and all her Publick Actions she carried all things in such manner as might best befit her Honour, and represent her to the World as a great and a splendid Prince: Nor would she at any time make any considerable expence, till she had first consulted with her *Treasurer Burleigh* concerning the state of her Exchequer, and what Monies she had to defray the same: It ws then thought his Advices to her made *her more sparing than was fit toward the Sword-men and Commanders in the War*; It is certain however, that she never called *Grey, Willoughby, Norris, or Sir Francis Vere* to the Council Table, though they were excellent Commanders, and had done her good service in *Holland, Spain, France and Ireland*, by the gaining of many signal Victories, and the spreading the Fame; and exalting the Reputation of the *English Nation*.

She was too sparing in her Rewards, especially to the Sword-men. When some of them had wasted the Estates left them by their Ancestors, and complained to her of their Poverty, beseeching her to give them wherewith to

to pay off the Debts they had contracted in her Service, it is certain she never contributed any thing to that purpose from her *Treasure*, nor in the least assisted or favoured them in any thing. She sought rather to encourage and win her Generals and Nobility over to *Acts of Valour* by her *Commendations*, than by the gift of Money, Lands, or Offices. In her conversation with them she would shew them much patience and affability, and would frequently acknowledge how much they had obliged her by their Actions. But as to those that had lost their Lives in her Service, or done any great Action for the Safety, Liberty, and Glory of her Kingdom, she would often take occasion to speak of them with much affection and honour, which was the best Reward they often met with for having served her with great Industry and Courage.

When Sir Philip Sidney, a Gentleman of noble Birth, and honest Disposition, of great Parts, Learning, Virtue and Fame, had lost his life before Zutphen in the *Netherlands*, in the Year 1586. he was not only lamented by the whole Army in the Camp, and

Sir Philip Sid-
ney much la-
mented.

Elegies made to his Honour by the Universities of *England*, but he was commended also by the Court, and the Queen commanded his Body to be publicly interred in St. Paul's Church in *London*, which was performed with much solemnity, and a vast concourse of the Nobility, Gentry, and Citizens : And it wes fit all this respect should be shewed to his Memory on the score of his Virtue, Learning and Merits, which have made him so famous in those, and all the succeeding times. This is an Honour that is more lasting, and more noble, than any Statues, or Funeral Monuments, which are often destroyed by Fire, Wars, Earthquakes, or Time ; and without any of these, are sometimes lost to the knowledge of men, and themselves buried in forgetfulness ; but his Books and Actions will make him admired in all times. The Magnificent Funeral of this Noble Knight was an honour to the Queen, and to the Age, and even to Learning it self. The *Earl of Leicester*, who was his Uncle, was chief Mourner at his Funeral, and extoll'd the Virtue of his Nephew to Heaven, in hopes the lustre of his Pupil's Name would reflect

flect upon himself an equal commendation and glory ; but in truth Sir Philip Sidney was his own Tutor, and gained all the glory he met with by his natural Endowments, and his Studies ; and perhaps it was owing too in great part to the scarcity of Learning at that time, which made those that enjoyed it then, more conspicuous and regardable than they have been since, when it became more common ; but then this latter neglect has made it less desired, and less aspired to, and almost wheeled us about to the same point of the Circle he was in.

Nor was the Queen's Favours confined only to her Generals, and Great Men, but she would condescend to celebrate the Memory of the meanest common Soldier that had had the honour to spend his life in the service of his Country, to excess. She redeemed out of Captivity those that were taken of the meaner People ; and she willingly gave to their Parents, Wives and Children, that Money, and those Rewards they might justly have expected from her, if they had lived. So that she kindled in the minds of all her Subjects by her

She shewed great respect to the memory of the meanest Soldier that perished in her Service.

bounty, kindness and beneficence, an ardent desire of Military Virtue, *and in this she exceeded the most of her Predecessors.* Burleigh, though a man of great virtue and honour, too stubbornly prosecuted the Cause of the Exchequer against the Commanders of those times, and kept the Queen from shewing them that Favour, and from giving them those Rewards they had by their Virtue and Industry so well deserved; by which means he alienated from the Queen the hearts of many of the Nobility, who were men of great knowledge, valour, industry and fidelity, and had, with the hazard of their Lives and Limbs, procured hers, and the Nation's safety; and after all, in their old Age were left in poverty to struggle with the Debts and Diseases they had contracted in her Service. To this man's sordid and sparing Humour was owing the failing of all Military Virtue in the following Reigns, when men saw how rich he, and the rest of the States-men, could leave their Families and Descendents; whilst those of the greatest Generals and Commanders in the Wars, were forced to be satisfied with the gilded glory of their Ancestors, but ought in Reason

But was not
liberal to the
Great men,
which had an
ill effect.

Reason and Justice to have been at least equally rewarded, and I may say, in point of Interest too.

Yet she was not over-liberal to the Gown-men and States-men in general, nor did she take any extraordinary care of them or theirs. She had learned this Lesson of her Grandfather *Henry the VIIth.* *Not to exhaust in any case the Fountain of her Bounty*, I mean the *Exchequer*; which was again to be recruited by the Spoils of the People, and unusual Taxes. That Prince by his Virtue, Labour, Solitude, Thriftiness, and Provident Administration, had re-established and improved the *English Monarchy*, and the Revenues of the Crown; and was for it much esteemed by the People of *England* of all degrees; his Covetous Humour having been more beneficial to the Crown, than damageable to the Body of the People, because he gave few or none of the Crown-Lands to his Followers or Servants, except when they were extorted from him by mere importunity, or he was cheated with the pretence of an advantageous exchange; but then he was also wont to give

The Praises of Henry VII.

give more freely the Estates of Convicted Criminals; so that there are many Examples in the Rolls of his Times, of men that rose by the Falls, and grew rich by the Calamities and Ruins of others. The small Gifts, and inconsiderable Largeesses this Prince gave when he was possessed of so much Wealth, was a means that preserved *England* from Ruin, after it had been so terribly exhausted by the Civil Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

Her Bounty to the Earl of Oxford, and some few others of the Nobility.

The Earl of *Oxford* was one of the most Ancient Houses amongst the Nobility, but by the excessive Bounty and Splendor of the former Earl was reduced to a very low and mean condition, so that the Family was no longer able to maintain its Dignity and Grandeur: And the Queen allowed that House One thousand Pound the year out of her Exchequer, that one of the most Illustrious Houses in her Kingdom might not suffer that Want which was intolerable to those of meaner Extraction. She also upheld Sir *Edward Dyer*, an old Courtier, who was become very poor, and would not suffer him to want.

But

But as for those *Spendthrifts* and *Wasters* that had foolishly wasted their *Patrimonies* in *Luxury* and *base Expences*, to gratifie their *Intemperance*, and afterwards solicited her to bestow *Pensions* on them, she sent some of them to her *Privy Council*, who rejected their *Petitions*, and gave those *Reasons* for it which the Queen was not willing to give her self; and others who sought by way of *Reward* what they had never deserved, she neglected: That her *Bounty* might not encourage others to *Luxury* and *imprudent Expences*, whilst they relied upon the *Crown* for the *Repair* of what they had *wastefully consumed*.

And her Severity towards Luxurious Spend-thrifts.

She for some time entertained, and out of her Treasury supported † *An-thony King of Portugal*, who was deprived of his *Dominions* by the *Iniquity* of *Philip the II^d. King of Spain*, and fled to her with a few *Servants* for her *Protection* and *Assistance*. She severely punished Sir *Richard Bingham*, President of *Connaught in Ireland*, tho he were an excellent Soldier, because he was found guilty of a sordid and injurious Covetousness. She entertained all

Her Favours
to *Anthony*
King of Por-tugal.

† This *Antho-n*y is by all confessed to have been a Bastard of the former King's.

all Strangers that came to her Court, with great Pleasantnes, Munificence, and Decency ; and when they went from her, she gave them Princely Presents.

Ursino, Duke of Bracciano. *Ursino Duke de Bracciano in Italy,* hearing of the Fame of this Queen, came over into *England* to see her ; and he being a person of great Virtue, and descended of one of the best Families in *Italy*, the Queen gave him a splendid Reception , and gave order he should be shewn her Fleets, her Stores, and Magazines , her Veterane Soldiers and Garisons, her Treasures and Wardrobes, her Retinue and Princely Palaces, and extorted from him a Confession, That there was no where in the world a more Potent and Happy Prince than she. She entertained several of the best and greatest Noblemen of *Italy, France, Germany, and Poland*; who all said of her , *That they never saw a more Magnificent, Honourable, Loving, Courteous Prince than Queen Elizabeth; and that her Virtue and Prudence was great and admirable, above all the Examples they had ever seen, read, or heard.* In truth, she was Mistrels of

of all the Virtues that belonged to both Sexes, and had none of the Faults belonging to her own, but a little *Unsteadiness in her Will.*

Knight hood in her Times was rarely given, and to none but men of Virtue and real Worth, Soldiers, and Gentle-
men of good Families and Estates; so
that she scarce ever admitted any man
into that degree, of a mean Fortune or
Extraction, as was too frequently done
in after times. There were not many
Ennobled, or raised from the lower de-
grees of Peerage to higher, as *Clinton*
and *Howard*, her *Admirals at Sea*, *Lei-*
cester and *Warwick*. She made few
Barons, and amongst them, *Burleigh*,
after he had served her many years with
admirable Prudence, Fidelity, and In-
dustry, in many of the principal Offi-
ces at Court. This lowest degree of
Peerage was sparingly, and with great
Care and Consideration, bestowed up-
on Worthy Men, as a Reward of some
signal Services, and an Encouragement
to others, and not out of a Personal
Affection or Respect. It was not then
sold by men that had easily obtained
the Grant of a Blank Patent, instead
of

She never
Knighted a
ny but men
of Virtue and
good Estate.

The Peerage
well and spa-
ringly given.

of ready Money ; and took no other care, but who should give most for the Mercenary Creation ; which could only dishonour the person that gave it, as well as he that bought it. In her time none but the most Worthy, the most Valiant, the most Faithful to his Country, and the most Loyal to his Prince, could hope to obtain this Favour, and raise his Name and Family. Thus she charily and prudently kept the Rewards of Virtue and Industry, never granting them upon Caprice, to shew her Absolute Power, upon the Intercession of Favourites, or the Letters of Great men, to those that were mean, and neither deserved nor could maintain the Grandeur of that Noble Title.

She set a high Value upon the most Noble Order of the Garter, and took the utmost care to keep it as the finest Reward of an extraordinary Fidelity, Industry, and Nobility ; and therefore she would never suffer it to be in the least corrupted by any mixture of mean persons. Tho' the Lord Burleigh was her Principal Councillor, and the First Mover in all her greater Affairs, without whose advice she would rarely resolve upon any thing of moment

The Noble
Order of the
Garter pru-
dently given.

ment, and he had deserved so very well of her by his unparalleld Care, Labour, and Vigilance; yet because he was but a Gentleman born, and a Peer of her own Creation only, it was very long before she could persuade her self to take him into the Order of the Garter, which has flourished now Three hundred years and more, and has in all times been given to the Greatest and Best of the Nobility at Home, for the best Services they could do for their Princes and Countrey; or to Foreign Princes Abroad, who were united to us by the most strict and indearng Bonds of Friendship and Interest.

She gave Governments, Magistracies, Court-Offices, and other Places of Trust, Reputation, and Profit, to those that deserved well of her, that by the example of these Rewards she might provoke others to imitate their Fidelity and Industry. She would never endure that any man she employed should raise to himself an odious or oppressive Gain, either from the Power or Office she had given him. If she observed a man to do nothing but for Money, she would never trust him; and as for any Offices or Governments, she took care

The Choice
of her Ser-
vants, Offi-
cers and Mi-
nisters.

to

to keep them as much as was possible out of such men's hands. Yet she was not too hard to, or suspicious of her Servants; she extended her Favour to all those she found good men, and her Friendship and Kindness was lasting to all those she found honest, thrifty, sober men; but then in Law-Suits she would not suffer any the least distinction to be made between her Servants and Favourites, and the rest of her Subjects, lest they being exalted by it above measure, should any way endanger the common Liberty of her People, or the Publick Peace and Safety. She raised *Sadler* from nothing; *Mildmay* and *Fortescue* from mean Fortunes to the Honour of *Kighthood*, and made them *Privy-Councillors* for their good Services; and lest that Dignity should suffer by the meanness of their Estates, she gave them a Competency by way of Addition to what they had before. She would always remember to Reward those well that had served her faithfully as her Ambassadors in Foreign Courts. And she raised many of her Servants for their Fidelity, and protected others of them from the Violence of Great Men. She protected,

Sir

Sir Thomas Knevet from the Violence of the Earl of Oxford, who to revenge a Wound he had received from Sir Thomas in a *Duel*, was mustering up all his Friends and Servants to destroy him; which the Queen prevented, by giving him a Guard for some time.

She so effectually recommended the Cause of her Bishops to her people, when they were attacked by the Calamours and Reproaches of the Puritans, Her kindness to the Bishops and Churchmen.
that nothing was more dear to the Multitude than their Bishops, and no Name was more Popular or beloved than theirs, so that all men stood up for their Dignity and Authority. She curbed the Boldness, Rage, and Fury, of these Pretenders to Godliness, by Laws well and severely executed; and she made it her business to preserve the Church to the utmost of her Power, as well from the Disturbance of Seditious Preachers within, as the Insults of Declared Enemies without. Her Motto was, *Semper eadem, Always the same*; and in this affair she took the greatest care to verify it, never departing one tittle from what she had once settled, or changing the Methods she had established, but upon great reason.

She loved Sir *F. Walsingham*, *Secretary of State*, her Secretary. She had a very great Love for Sir *F. Walsingham*, *Secretary of State*, who was one of the Pillars of her Kingdom, and so intent upon the Preservation of the Publick Safety, and the Discovery of the Designs of her Enemies against her Person and Government, that he took little care of his own private Family, and made no provision for those he left behind him: But then it was hardly well taken by the body of the Nation, to see the most part of his Inheritance fold after his death to repay those Moneys to the Treasury, which he had spent in the Queen's Service: The Envy of which, however, fell heaviest upon the *Treasurer* and the *Earl of Leicester*, who were none of his Friends whilst he lived, and took this opportunity to revenge the Affronts they had received from him. She had also a particular favour for Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal, who was the Ornament of the Court, and the great Luminary of *Westminster-Hall*. She highly esteemed *Egerton* and *Popham*: But above all her other Councillors and Ministers of State, she valued *Burleigh* the *Lord Treasurer*, and *Howard* the *Lord Admiral*.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, Egerton, Popham, but above all the Lord Burleigh and Howard.

miral of *England*, the Ornament of his own Family, and a strange Example of Modesty, Civility, and Liberality. These men enjoyed her Favour to the last, and were ever of great Authority with her.

She loved a Prudent and Moderate Habit in her private Apartment and conversation with her own Servants; but when she appeared in Publick, she was ever richly adorn'd with the most valuable cloaths, set off again with much gold, and Jewels of inestimable Value; and on such occasions she ever wore High Shooes, that she might seem Taller than indeed she was. The first day of the Parliament she would appear in a Robe Embroidered with Pearls, the Royal Crown upon her Head, the Golden Ball in her Left-hand, and the Scepter in her Right; and as she never failed then of the loud Acclamations of her People, so she was ever pleased with it, and went to the House in a kind of Triumph, with all the Ensigns of Majesty. There was at such times so great a Concourse of the People to see and salute the Queen, that many were trodden down, and some have been lamed. *The Royal Name*

Her Habit in
Publick and
in Private.

was ever venerable to the English Nation; but this Queen's was more sacred than any of her Ancestors. She alone was able to furnish her whole Sex with the Examples of Chastity, Temperance, and all other Virtues: And she was very vigilant to keep her Family and Court in severe Discipline. She persuaded all Married Women to pay a modest Respect to their Husbands, as to their Superiors. She kept a severer Guard upon her own desires, than upon those of others that were about her; so that by degrees she made them seem at least like her self, because she ever laboured so to have them. She banished from her Court all Drunkenness, Filthiness, Immodesty, and the very fame and suspicion of Wantonness. Whoredoms, Rapes, Adulteries, and Incests, were Crimes she detested; and if she found any of her Retinue, how great soever they were, guilty of them, they must never more come before her. She banished Burges, one of her Maids of Honour, because she had entred into an Intrigue with the Earl of Essex, who loved her very passionately; because the Queen suspected she had had an hand in his Ruin: And the Lady Fitton

Fitzton, another of these Maids, was sent away too, for yielding to the Incitements of a young Gentleman of Noble Birth. The Noblemen found no more favour than the Ladies, if once they were found guilty in the same kind. She sent the *Earl of Oxford* to the Tower, for attempting to Ravish one of her Maids of Honour, that was a Tall and Lovely Lady. If she knew any of her Nobility given to frequent Houses of ill fame, she treated them with as little Respect as she did meaner men. To conclude, she shewed her self the Irreconcilable Enemy of all that had been found guilty of any base or immodest and unchaste Action. She would frequently admonish her Servants and Attendants, 'That they should take heed not to do any thing that might be dishonourable to her, destructive to themselves, and of ill Example to the Publick. That they should take care not to bring an Ill Report upon the Chaste, a Blot upon the Upright, or an Infamy and Dishonour upon the Good.'

In the Furniture of her Royal Palace she ever affected Magnificence, and there was an extraordinary Splendor; she adorned

The Character of

ed the Galeries with excellent Pictures, done by the best Artists; the Walls she covered with Rich *Tapisries*: She was a true Lover of Jewels and Pearls, all sorts of Precious Stones, Plate, plain, Bossed of Gold and Silver, and Gilt; Rich Beds, Fine Coaches and Chariots, *Persian* and *Indian* Carpets, Statues, Medals, &c. which she would purchase at great Prices. The Specimen of her Rich Furniture was to be seen a long time after her Death, at *Hampton Court*, which was Moveable, above any of the other Royal Houses in her Times; and here she had caused her Naval Victories obtained against the *Spaniards*, to be represented in excellent *Tapisries*, and laid up amongst the Richest Pieces of her Wardrobe. These things did not only please the eyes of the Spectators, and renew the Memory of the great things atchieved in her Times, but they helped to raise in the minds of her Subjects and of Strangers too, a Venerable Idea of the Majesty, Wisdom, Riches, and Power of this Heroick Lady.

Her Diet in Publick and in Private. In her Meat, Drink, and other Nouishments and Refreshments, she was very Temperate, in private especially. She

She was not subject to the love of Sleep, or any of the other Pleasures of Human Life. She eat very little, but then she chose what was pleasant, and easie of digestion ; and in her declining Age she became more Temperate than before ; but then she eat whensoever she was hungry : She seldom drank above Threetimes at a Meal, and that was common Beer, and she very rarely drank again till Supper. She would seldom drink any Wine, for fear it should cloud her Faculties : She loved *Alicant Wine* above any other. *She always Religiously observed the Fasting-Days.* When she made any Publick Feast or Dinners for her Honour or her Pleasure, she would then order her Table to be served with all the Magnificence that was possible ; and many Side-Tables to be adorned with all sorts of Plate. She had many of the Nobility which waited upon her at the Table at those times, and served her with great Care and Attention. In these things she took the greatest Pride to shew her Royal Treasures, and made her greatest Feasts when Foreign Ambassadors were present, who were highly pleased with these Shews. At these times

times she would also have all sorts of Musick, Vocal and Instrumental ; and after Dinner, Dancing ; and she took care thus to entertain the most Illustrious Persons of other Nations, that came into *England*. Nor was she less careful that her great Ministers of State should keep up the Tables she allowed them ; and she would order her Nobility to keep good Hospitable Houses according to their Qualities and Degrees. All which tended more to her Honour, and the Reputation of the Nation, than the Courses were afterwards taken up with a greater Expence.

*The Splendor
and Diver-
tisements of
the Court.*

The Splendor and Magnificence of the Publick Feasts in her times, and the Ceremonies that were used when the several Courses were serv'd up to the Table, would be troublesome to relate, and perhaps a little ridiculous, now they are antiquated. The Cup-bearer never presented the Cup to the Queen, but with much ceremony, and kneeled always when he gave, or took it ; and during the whole Refreshment, *Musick* and *Songs* were heard, and the Queen her self would frequently dance to humour the younger Persons in her Court ; for all these Solemnities were in her Royal

Royal Palace, and were designed to adorn and sweeten her Government. The coming of the Duke of Alençon into England, opened a way to a more free way of living, and relaxed very much the old severe form of Discipline : The Queen danced often then, and omitted no sort of Recreation, pleasant Conversation, or variety of Delights for his satisfaction : At the same time the plenty of good Dishes, pleasant Wines, fragrant Ointments and Perfumes, Dances, Masques, and variety of rich Attires, were all taken up, and used, to shew him how much he was honoured. There were then acted Comedies and Tragedies with much cost and splendor ; From whence proceeded in after-times an unrestrainable desire of frequenting these Divertisements ; so that there was afterwards a greater discourse at the Theatre, than at the Sermon. When these things had once been entertained, the Courtiers were never more to be reclaimed from them ; and they could not be satiated, or wearied with them. But when Alençon was once dismissed, and gone, the Queen her self left off these Divertisements, and betook her self, as before,

fore, to the care of her Kingdom : And by her own Example and severe Corrections, she as heartily endeavoured to reduce her Nobility to their old severe way of living, and the former provident way of cloathing.

Her private way of living. In her private way of living she always preferr'd her necessary Affairs, and the dispatch of what concerned the Government, before, and above any Pleasures, Recreations, and Conversation ; and serious things before what was pleasing. In the morning she spent the first fruits of her time in her Closet at her Devotions, and then she betook her self to the dispatch of her Civil Affairs, and to the reading of Letters, and the ordering what Answers should be returned ; then she considered what was fit to be brought before the Lords of the Council ; she ever kept a vigilant eye upon the Motions of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, who was all her days plotting and contriving the Conquest of *Europe*, and the reducing all his Neighbours and the Free-States, and Cities of it, under his obedience. She ever consulted first with her wisest, and best experienced Ministers and Statesmen, of whose Fidelity, Industry and Ability,

Ability, she had formerly made good proof ; and she commanded them to speak freely and plainly what was best to be done ; and when she had heard the Advices of all, she chose what she thought was best. When she had thus wearied her self, and oppressed her Spirits, she sought for rest and peace ; and would either walk in a shady Garden, or pleasant Gallery, without any other Attendance, than that of a few Learned Men. Then she took her Coach, and passed in the sight of her People to the Neighbouring Groves and Fields, and sometimes would hunt, or hawk, spending in her Youth all her time in this change of Labour, or innocent Divertisement. Nor was she less careful to exercise her mind in Learning, than her body by Labour ; but by a wise distribution of her time, she consulted the good and welfare both of Body and Soul. There was scarce a day in her Her Studies. life, but she employed a part of it in reading and study ; sometimes before she entered upon her State-affairs, and sometimes after them ; so that by this means she gained a part of every day for her self, and the improvement of her own Faculties. In her Studies she mixed

mixed pleasing and serious things one with another. In the Summer she for the most part lived in the Countrey ; then she took her Royal Progresses into the several Counties of *England*, and she would amuse her self with considering and commanding the pleasantnes and goodness of her Countrey, and the greatness and variety of the Fruits *England* produced ; she would alfo admire the Wisdom and Goodness of God in diversifying the face of the Earth by the mixture of Fields, Meadows, Pastures and Woods ; and she would, as occasion offered, hunt too. In all this she was intent upon that which was her main busines, the government of her People, the management of her Family, and of her Revenues, and the observing the state and condition, the carriage and designs of the Neighbour States and Princes ; which way soever she went, she was sure to draw upon her the eyes of her People : Innumerable crowds of them met her in all places with loud hearty Acclamations, with Countenances full of joy, and hearts equally filled with love and admiration, and this ever attended her in publick, and in private ; for what sight in this World

World can possibly please Mortals, like that of a just, beneficent, and kind Prince ? So that those Places were accounted the most happy, in which, for the goodness of the Air, or the pleasantness of the Fields, she was pleased to stay the longest. In her Progress she was the most easie to be approached; Private Persons, and Magistrates, Men and Women, Countrey people and Children, came joyfully, and without any fear, to wait upon her, and see her. Her ears were then open to the Complaints of the afflicted, and of those that had been any way injured. She would not suffer the meanest of her People to be sent out from the places where she resided, but the greatest and the least were then in a manner levelled. She took with her own hand, and read with the greatest goodness the Petitions of the meanest Rusticks. And she would frequently assure them, that she would take a particular care of their Affairs; and she would ever be as good as her word. She by her Royal Authority protected those that were injured and oppressed; She punished the Fraudulent, False, Perfidious and Wicked. In all this variety of Affairs she was able to keep her temper, and appear with an equal and unin-

uninterrupted serenity and humanity to all that came nigh her ; *She was never seen angry with the most unseasonable, or uncourtly Approach : She was never offended with the most impudent or importunate Petitioner.* There was no commotion to be seen in her mind, no Reproaches, no Reprehensions came from her. Nor was there any thing in the whole course of her Reign that more won the hearts of the People, than this her wonderful facility, condescension, and the strange sweetness and pleasantness with which she entertained all that came to her. Thus for the most part she spent her Summer.

*The Winter
she spent in
London.*

She spent her Winter in *London* in the procuring the safety of her People, and that of her Allies and Confederates. Before day every morning she heard the Petitions of those that had any business with her ; and calling her Secretaries of State, and Masters of Requests, she caused the Orders of Council, Proclamations, Patents, and all other Papers relating to the Publick, to be read, which were then depending; and gave such order in each Affair as she thought fit, which was set down in short Notes, either by her self, or her Secretaries, As often

often as any thing happened that was difficult, she called her great and wise men to her, and proposing the diversity of Opinions, she very attentively considered and weighed on which side the strongest reason lay, ever preferring that way which seemed most to promote the publick safety and welfare. When she was thus wearied with her morning work, she would take a walk, if the Sun shined, into her Garden, or otherwise in her Galleries, especially in windy or rainy Weather. She would then cause *Stanhop*, or *Sir Henry Savill*, or some other very learned Man to be called to walk with her, and entertain her with some learned Subject ; the rest of the day she spent in private reading History, or some other Learning, with great care and attention ; not out of ostentation, and a vain ambition of being always learning something, but out of a diligent care to enable her self thereby to live the better, and to avoid sin ; and she would commonly have some Learned Man with her, or near her, to assist her ; whose Labour and Industry she would well reward : Thus she spent her Winter.

In

Her Diet in
Summer and
Winter.

In the Summer time, when she was hungry, she would eat something that was of light and easy digestion in her Chamber, with the Windows open to admit the gentle breezes of wind from the Gardens, or pleasant Hills. Sometimes she would do this alone, but more commonly she would have her Friends with her then. When she had thus satisfied her hunger and thirst with a very moderate repast, she would rest awhile upon an *Indian Couch* curiously and richly covered. In the Winter-time she observed the same Order, but she omitted her Noon-sleep. When her day was thus spent, she went late to Supper, which was ever sparing, and very moderate. At Supper she would divert her self with her Friends and Attendance; and if they made her no answr, she would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility. She would then also admit Tarleton, a famous Comedian, and a pleasant Talker, and other such like men, to divert her with Stories of the Town, and the common Jests, or Accidents; but so, that they kept within the bounds of modesty and chastity. In the Winter-time, after Supper, she would sometimes

time hear a Song, or a Lesson or two plaide upon the Lute ; but she would be much offended if there was any rudenes to any Person, any reproach or licentious Reflection used. *Tartleton*, who was then the best Comedian in *England*, had made a pleasant Play, and when it was acting before the Queen, he pointed at Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and said, *See the Knaue commands the Queen*; for which he was corrected by a Frown from the Queen ; yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much, and too intolerable a power ; and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the over-great Power and Riches of the Earl of *Leicester*, which was so universally applauded by all that were present, that she thought fit for the present to bear these Reflections with a seeming unconcernedness. But yet she was so offended, that she forbade *Tartleton*, and all her Jesters, from coming near her Table, being inwardly displeased with this impudent and unreasonable Liberty. She would talk with Learned Men that had travelled, in the presence of many, and ask them many Questions concerning the Government, Customs and Discipline used abroad. She loved a

A a natural

Her Diversions and private Conversation.

natural Jester, that would tell a Story pleasantly, and humour it with his Countenance, and Gesture, and Voice; but she hated all those Praters that made bold with other mens Reputation, or defamed them. She detested, as ominous and unfortunate, all Dwarfs and Monstrous Births. She loved *Little Dogs, Singing Birds, Parrots, and Apes*: And when she was in private, she would recreate her self with various Discourses, a game at Chess, Dancing, or Singing. Then she would retire into her Bed-chamber, where she was attended by married Ladies of the Nobility, the Marchioness of *Winchester*, then a Widow, the Countess of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Scroop's* Lady, whose Husband was Governor of the *West Marshes*. She would seldom suffer any to wait upon her there, except *Leicester, Hatton, Essex, Nottingham*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who were more intimately conversant with her than any other of the Courtiers; She frequently mixed serious things with her Jests, and her Mirth; and upon Festival Days, and especially in *Christmas-time*, she would play at *Cards* and *Tables*, which was one of her usual Pastimes; and if at any time she happened

pèned to win; she would be sure to demand the Money. When she found her self sleepy, she would take her leave of them that were present with much kindness and gravity, and so betake her to her rest; some Lady of good quality, and of her intimate acquaintance, always lying in the same Chamber. And besides her Guards, that were always upon Duty, there was a Gentleman of Good Quality, and some others, up in the next Chamber, who were to wake her in case any thing extraordinary happened.

Though she was endowed with all the Goods of Nature and Fortune, and adorned with all those things which are valuable, and to be desired; yet there were some things in her that were capable of amendment; nor was there ever any Mortal, whose Virtues were not eclipsed by the neighbourhood of some Vices or Imperfections. She was subject to be vehemently transported with Anger; and when she was so, she would shew it by her Voice, her Countenance, and her Hand. She would chide her familiar Servants so loud, that they that stood afar off, might sometimes hear her Voice. And it was reported, that for

small Offences she would strike her Maids of Honour with her hand ; but then her Anger was short , and very innocent, and she learned from Zeno-phon's Book, *Of the Institution of Cyrus*, the method of curbing and correcting this unruly and uneasy Passion. And when her Friends acknowledged their Offences, and humbly begged her pardon, she with an appeased mind easily forgave them many things.

Her Severity,
and especially
to the Queen
of Scots.

She was also of an Opinion, That Severity was safe , and too much Clemency was destructive, and therefore in her Punishments and Justice she was the more severe. The worst thing that she did in all her Reign, was her treatment of the Queen of Scots, who being by her own Subjects driven into Exile, and not only deprived of her Regal Authority , but of her Liberty , her Estate , and her Treasures ; and coming poor and distressed into England upon the Queen's promise and faith given, she at first kindly and hospitably received and entertained her ; but afterwards confined her, and at last, upon pretence that the Queen of the Scots was plotting against her, put her upon her trial, condemned, and at last executed

ted her, making her a sad, and unheard-of Example of her cruel and unjust Severity. Thus she polluted her happy Reign with the Innocent Blood, not of an Enemy, but of a Guest: The memory of old Disgusts and Injuries prevailing more upon the mind of Queen Elizabeth, than the dignity of a Sovereign Queen, the Intercession of the Neighbour Princes, the Laws of Hospitality, the Tears of a Captive, and a Kinswoman; so that no Intercession, no Supplications could take any place in a mind inexorably bent upon Revenge. They that would excuse this mournful Action, pretend the Queen of Scots was only confined to prevent mischief; but she entering into a Conspiracy against the Queen of England in her own Kingdom, and her Designs against the Life and Throne of Queen Elizabeth being thus detected, there was no other way left to preserve the Life, and consult the safety of Queen Elizabeth, but by the punishment of the Queen of Scots, and others, who had conspired to destroy her. That all Precautions were in vain, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to cut off this Guest, though her Cousin, and the next Heir after her of

The Character of

the Crown of *England*; and one, that by her deprivation of her Kingdom, and her Imprisonment in *England*, was deprived of all means to hurt her. If she would have taken the right method to secure her self, she should have released her Captive, and have sent her away, which would have cut off the Causes, and the Pretences of these Conspiracies, and have tended more to her honour and peace, than the way she took. This Execution of the Queen of the *Scots* raised in the minds of the Neighbour Princes an enraged Indignation. And she her self, when she knew the Fact was done, and could not be recalled, deplored the *united and common Indignation of all the Foreign Princes* with many tears, and gave many signs of her inward grief, laying the blame of this wicked action wholly upon the *Actors*; and upon every mention of the death of the Queen of *Scots*, she would to her dying day weep bitterly, and lament her misfortune in it. So great was the force of her Repentance, tho it came too late, and was altogether useless.

Her Severity
to Leicester
and Hatton.

It was thought she brought *Leicester* and *Hatton*, two of her greatest Favourites, to their Graves, by her hard usages, and the many Indignities she put

put upon them. *Leicester* had offend-ed her, by attempting to imbroil the Affairs of the *United Provinces* in the *Netherlands*; to that end he had suf-fered his Soldiers to live very irregular, and without almost any Military Di-scipline, and this in a State the most closely united to her; and he had am-bitiously affected the Power of a Lieu-tenant-General in *England* and *Ireland*; which *Burleigh* represented to the Queen as intolerable; and thereupon she became so incensed against him, that she brought him to a Despondence of Mind, which ended in his Death; the Queen declining all Reconciliation, that he might be an Example to all others to consult their own and the Publick Interest better than he had done, and not aspire like him to too great and dangerous Honours. Upon this Repulse he resolved to retire into the Countrey, and to live remote from the Court, at *Killingnorth*; but on the Road he fell into a violent Feavet, which brought him to his Grave. He left a Brother behind him, who was Earl of *Warwick*, and had the Char-acter of a good man from his Enemies; and he succeeded him in the Estate,

but did not long enjoy it. He left also a Son who laid Claim afterwards to the Earldom of *Leicester*, but he was then very young, and not owned as Legitimate. When the Queen heard of the Death of *Leicester*, she could not forbear grieving at it: She ordered, however, his Personal Estate to be seized for Money due to the Exchequer from the deceased Earl; but she got little by it, the Creditors and others by various Stratagems, and on various Pre-tences, drawing it out again.

*Hatton's
Death.*

Hatton was a very good Dancer, and that was his best Qualification, and was the means of promoting him to be *Lord Chancellor of England*. Being in that high and undeserved Station, he became proud and arrogant, and at last began to favour the Popish Party more than the Queen thought well of. The Queen thereupon told him, That he was too much exalted by the Indulgence of his Fortune, which had placed him in a Station for which he was unfit, he being ignorant of the Chancery-Law, and needing the Assistance of others to enable him to do his Duty. This Reproach struck him to the heart, and he resolved to admit no Consolation.

tion. When he was almost half-dead, the Queen repented of her Severity, and went her self in Person to comfort the Dying Chancellor, and did what was possible to retrieve him; but it was all to no purpose, for he was obstinately resolved to dye. His Brother's Son succeeded him in his Estates and Goods, (he dying a Batchellor) and raised a Family upon this Foundation; and the Queen did not exact from him the Debts due to the Exchequer, whether out of Respect to the Deceased, or Favour to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, whose Niece this Gentleman had Married.

As the Queen was by Nature severe, The Provocations she met with were many and great.
so she did not want the utmost Provocations to exert her Natural Temper: For there was in all her Reign a Chain of Conspiracies detected, which were so outrageous and wicked, that they exceeded by their Cruelty and brutish Ferity all measures, and seemed to deserve and call for Severity in her punishing of them; she was also exasperated by Rebellions and Insurrections in both her Kingdoms, and by most infamous Libels published without any Author's Name, against the Cruelty of this Prince, with the Infamy of them

them that writ these Books. The Re-proach of Cruelty would not fix upon her, tho they did what was possible to defame her, because all men thought the Actors and Leaders in these horri-ble Treasons and Rebellions, deserved all the Punishments and Severities she inflicted on them for their Crimes. However it is apparent, That in her Reign many of the Nobility were put to Death, some of the most Noble Fa-milies were ruined, and that the *Roman-Catholicks* were punished, banish-ed, or forced to flye into Foreign Coun-tries to escape those Punishments they had drawn upon themselves by their restless endeavours to undermine her Throne, and subvert her Government, or to destroy her Person. After all, some of these Papists, out of a spirit of Slander and Detraction, and a desire to gratifie the Pope and his Party, la-boured by all ways that they could invent, to have her thought a Cruel and a Bloody Princess, and with the utmost Impudence represented her as such in their Pamphlets, tho she was forced to this Severity by their great and repeated Villanies.

There were some that with an un-sufferable

sufferable Rashness charged her with Unchastity : The principal of which was *Nicholas Sanders*, one of the basest and wickedest Slanderers, and of the most hellish and incurable Malice that ever was born. This Fellow forgot all Modesty, and not content with the defaming her Mother, and the reviving all those Slanders against her, which had before his time been sufficiently detected and disproved, or were forgotten, he went on to slander and defame the Queen too ; and to that end invented very many lewd Stories, and most infamous Satyrs against her and her Ministers, endeavouring to have the World believe she was guilty of Rape, villainous Lusts, and intolerable Frauds for the Subversion of the *English* Nation. But the Modesty and the incredible Chastity of her Life, easily dispelled all these black and noisom Slanders and Reproaches ; her worst Enemies having never been able to discover the least shadow of Luxury or Unchastity in all her Life ; which was so pure and so spotless and unblamable, that it is very hard to believe she was a Mortal. This her rare Temperance and Continence put a stop to the Lyes and

The Char-
acter of San-
ders, and o-
thers who
defamed her.

and Defamations of this abominable Slanderer, and made all men despise him and his Writings. Nor did he so escape the Justice of God, which pursued him for this and his other Crimes, and before his Death deprived him of his Reason and Understanding, and banishing him from the Conversation of men, he perished in a desolate place in *Ireland*, after he had a long time struggled with Hunger and Cold, and endeavoured to preserve himself alive with the Roots of the Herbs that naturally grew in those Woods he lurked in; nor was there one Friend to cover his Carkals with a little earth after he was dead, but it was found by the *English* in the Woods, and left a Prey to the Wild Beasts; all men rejoicing that the Justice of God had thus shewn itself in the Punishment of this infamous Slanderer, and Impenitent Rebel.

Dydimus Veridicus.

Another virulent Slanderer printed a Book, under the Title of *Dydimus Veridicus*, being infected with the same contagious distemper of Lying, and presumed to pollute the ears of men with most wicked Discourses, and to attempt the Ruin of the Fame of a most Noble Prince, which was supported

ported by the united Approbation and Praises of Mankind. He invented many absurd, false, and incredible things, that were like the fained Representations of Poets and Painters, so that they appear false at first sight, and only serve to shew the liberty he took of Lying notoriously; so that he may be left without any answer, to receive his Confutation from the Prudence of the Reader.

Florimond Remond, another indiscreet Writer, transcribes the Defamations and Lyes which *Sanders* had invented, and sets down without any Truth, the Imprisonments, Tortures, Punishments, and Ignominies of the Papists: He impudently writes, That the Publick Places and Streets were washed with their Innocent Blood; that the Priests were tormented, the Matrons slain, the Layicks hurried away to Death and Tortures; forgetting or dissembling, that in the short Five years Reign of Queen *Mary*, there were more innocent Protestants burnt alive without Mercy, than suffered in all the Forty four Years of that of Queen *Elizabeth*, tho convicted of the greatest Crimes, and executed upon the most

Florimond Re-
mond, a French
Writer.

most Just and Legal Prosecutions, *viz.* For disturbing the Peace of the Nation, by Insurrections, Tumults, and Rebellions, for entring into Conspiracies, joining with Foreign Enemies, or abetting and concealing Domestick Treasons and Traitors, or for endeavouring to Murder the Queen. The Moderation and Justice of the Queen has covered these passionate and false Scribblers with Infamy and Contempt, and it were lost labour to endeavour to refute them.

*George Cane, a
Scot.*

Nor ought *George Cane*, a *Scot*, to be passed over in silence, who in his History of the Life of *Mary Queen of the Scots*, has persecuted the Memory of Queen *Elizabeth* with a rapid Fury. He saith impudently, That she was born in an Incestuous Marriage, and got the Possession of *England* by Force; which Expressions were the effects of a Flattering Affection to the Interest of the Popish Party, and of Aversion for that of the Protestants. These Treatments induced the Queen to be very severe against all Libels and Verses penned to the end to blacken the Reputation of any man; which she forbade any to read or divulge; and she ordered them

them to be burnt : And she extended this her Severity to all Rumors and Reports that were spread abroad underhand, for fear her People should by these means be excited to Rebellions or Seditions.

Whilst her Forces in *Ireland* under ^{Her last Sicknesses} the Command of the Lord *Montjoy*, were struggling hard with *Tyrone* for the Reduction of *Ulster*, and *Tyrone* was reduced to a necessity of submitting himself to her, which would have ended in the quieting of that Kingdom , the Queen was involved in an incurable and grievous Disease , arising from the Greatness of her Age: She spent many Nights sadly and restlessly, without any sleep , in much Anxiety and troublesome Cares ; her Stomach being wholly weakned and decayed, loathed all sorts of Diet ; till at last the Anguish of her Troubled and Afflicted mind, made her despair of a Recovery ; so that *she despised the Counsels of her Physicians, and became exasperated and stubbornly resolved against all Medicines.* The most powerful and considerable of her Friends who waited upon her night and day, and did all they could to console and please her, when they

they saw the muttering Discontents of her Physicians, and considered seriously the uncertainty of the Event which might follow this Sickness of Body and Mind, and the Imbecility of human Nature, they became anxious, and most earnestly besought her, That she would curb this Disturbance and Grief of her mind ; that she would for the present not fill her mind with the Arguments of Learned men against the Fears of Death, tho they had the shew of Wisdom ; that she would consult her own Reason, and endeavour the Preservation of her Life, and the Recovery of her former Health : That she would not encrease her Danger by Despondency, or her Distemper by her Obstinacy against all Medicines ; but that she would be pleased to yield to the Perswasions of her Physicians, and follow their Advices, Eat, and endeavour to overcome her inward grief with Patience : Lastly, That she would be pleased to value and endeavour to preserve her own Life, and deliver her Loyal and Faithful Servants, Nobility, and Subjects, from that Anxiety and Sorrow that now oppressed them. She made no other Answer to all this Wise and

and Loyal Advice, but That she was full satiated with this present Life, and now desired nothing more than to be translated to a state of Immortality, and to make her escape out of this dark and disordered state of human Affairs. That Death, which many so much abhorred, was only the payment of a Debt due to Nature; and that our Spirits were of right to be restored to God from whom they came. Thus her Body by slow degrees consumed away, and she became very Lean, Weak, and Faint. Yet after all, her Mind was more afflicted than her Body; She was night and day troubled with a sorrowful Remembrance of the late executed Earl of Essex. The Grief of her Mind was encreased by the Necessity of her Affairs, which compell'd her to yield to Tyrone, not only his Life and Liberty, and the Pardon of his Rebellions and Perfidy, but a great part of his Estate; which she esteemed a kind of rewarding him for his Treasons and Perjuries.

Her Sorrows were every day increased and made more insupportable, by the Melancholy Humour which then abounded in her Blood, and the restlessness of her Mind; so that all her Strength being exhausted, and her

Her last
Words to her
Council.

Mind, which was filled with Indignation, contributing more and more to the Disease; she seemed to decline apace by the Weakness which augmented every day, yet she bore this her last Sickness with a wonderful Constancy and Patience, which alone deserved very great Commendation. When some of the principal Nobility of *England*, the *Lord Admiral*, the *Lord Keeper of the Great Seal*, and one of the *Secretaries of State*, in the Name and by the Order of the Privy Council, told her Majesty, That it was their humble Request, That she would, if not for her own sake, yet for the good of her People, throw off that load of Grief which oppressed her, and lay aside the Resolution of dying: That if she should happen to dye by the course of Nature, in the present Circumstances of Affairs, it would bring Ruin upon *England*: That they had no hopes of any Prosperity after her Death, unless the Certainty of the Succession were fixed by her. If she should leave this to be determined after her Death, in that flagrant desire men had of obtaining the Sovereignty, there might many ill things be done and suffered, which would augment the Sorrows of her

her People for the loss of so good a Prince: Therefore they most earnestly, and with one Voice, and united Tears and Sighs intreated her, That in her present Circumstances she would take care of the Common Safety of her People after her Death; and that she would be pleased to remember, That so many of the Lives of her Subjects would be exposed to the utmost hazard if she died without Naming her Successor. To which she lovingly and modestly replied, *That if she died of this sickness, the Kingdom would not want a Defender, but would be in the same state of quiet.* Nottingham, the Lord Admiral replied, *Whom do your Majesty mean?* She looking thereupon steadily on all that were then present, said, I mean James King of Scotland, my Nearest Kinsman, and the Right Heir to Henry the VIIth. This cheared all that were present, and she persisted constantly in this to her last Breath, That he was her undoubted Heir.

When she had said this, and recommended her Name and Memory to her Nobility, she cast off all the Cares of this Life, and betook her self wholly to the acts of Piety and Devotion; she

She spent the
last Moments
of her Life
wholly in
Devotion.

The Character of

sent also for the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Learned, Pious, and Moderate Prelate, who was then the Guide of her Conscience, and whose Salutary Advices she always much esteemed and gladly embraced. When this great and good man came to her, he admonished her to consider the Imperfection of the Human Nature, and therefore advised her to place all her Hopes in the Merits of Christ. She replied with some difficulty of breathing or speaking, That she was weary of this miserable Life, which was subject to so many Calamities and Dangers: That from her Soul she desired to pass to that Eternal Light which overflowed with all manner of Felicity; and was hastening to her Heavenly Country, to the Presence of her good Saviour, and into his holy Arms. When the Bishop had ended his prudent and holy Exhortation, she turned her a little, and laying her Head upon her Right Arm, she composed her self as it were to her Last Long Sleep, with a Quiet Mind, and a Composed Countenance; nor were her Last Moments unlike the rest of her Life, but it appeared by the motions of her Hand and Eyes, that they were spent in the acts of Devotion and Mental Prayer.

*Her last
Words to the
Archbishop.*